

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of understanding the local context in which a project is implemented. This is particularly true in the case of community-based participatory research (CBPR), which emphasizes the active involvement of community members in all stages of the research process. The second part of the paper describes the challenges of conducting CBPR in a resource-poor setting, such as a rural area in South Africa. The third part of the paper presents the findings of a study that explored the experiences of community members who participated in a CBPR project. The fourth part of the paper discusses the implications of the findings for the design and implementation of future CBPR projects. The fifth part of the paper concludes with a summary of the key points and a call to action for researchers and practitioners to continue to explore and refine the use of CBPR in resource-poor settings.

The findings of the study suggest that community members who participated in the CBPR project experienced a sense of ownership and control over the research process. This was achieved through the use of participatory methods, such as focus group discussions and community meetings. The study also found that community members were able to identify and address the needs and concerns of their community. This suggests that CBPR can be an effective way to engage community members in the research process and to address the needs of the community. The study also identified some challenges, such as the lack of resources and the need for ongoing support. These challenges can be addressed by providing training and resources to community members and by establishing a supportive environment for the research process. The study concludes that CBPR can be a valuable tool for addressing the needs of the community and for promoting health and well-being.

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**N<sup>o</sup>. XV.**

AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY TOUCHING ST CATHARINE OF ALEXANDRIA,  
ILLUSTRATED BY A SEMI-SAXON LEGEND.

WITH TWO PLATES.

**CAMBRIDGE:**

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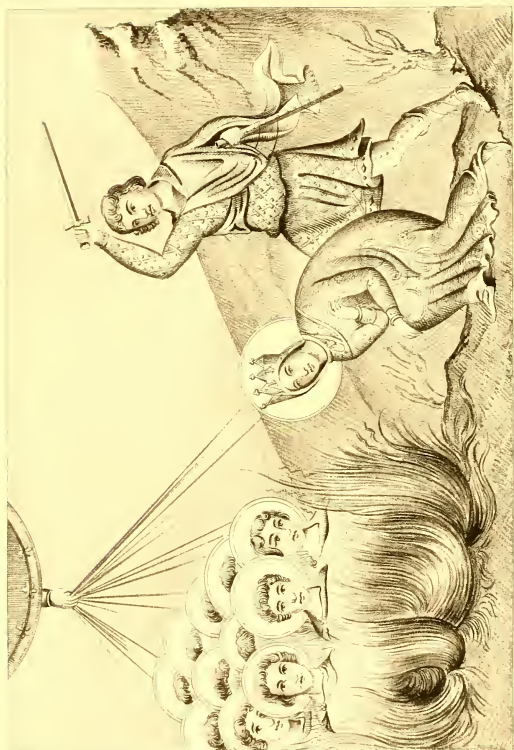
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M.DCCC.XLIX.









AN  
HISTORICAL INQUIRY  
TOUCHING  
SAINT CATHARINE OF ALEXANDRIA:

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A Semi-Saxon Legend.

BY

CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A.

FELLOW AND CHAPLAIN OF ST CATHARINE'S HALL, CAMBRIDGE.

CAMBRIDGE:  
*PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.*  
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M.DCCC.XLIX.

"HOC CERTUM: NULLAM ESSE SANCTAM CUJUS FAMA CULTUSQUE PRIMIS POST  
PERSECUTIONES SÆCULIS IGNOTIOR, CELEBRIOR AUTEM ÆTATIBUS POSTE-  
RIORIBUS FUERIT, NON SOLUM IN ORIENTALI, SED ETIAM OCCIDENTALI  
ECCLESIA,"

PAPEBROCH.

1782069

P R E F A C E.

THE primary design in drawing up this paper was to put in order the results of an inquiry undertaken for my own satisfaction as a member of St Catharine's Hall. In pursuing that inquiry, I have been careful to avoid the theological disputations which such a subject would naturally open, and have thus, I trust, secured for my researches a legitimate claim on the 'Antiquarian Society.' To all who are versed in the Christian Martyrologies the investigation will yield especial interest; while others are requested to view it in the light of an historical Essay, having reference to the far-famed patroness of universities and learned men. I do not find that the same field has yet been very diligently explored, either by our own or foreign writers. Many, it is true, have reproduced the *popular* story of St Catharine, one class to praise or to apologize, another to assail with indiscriminating censure; but the only distinct Treatise (at least of modern times) which has come within my knowledge, is said to have been published at Tübingen in 1739,—the author, Daniel Maichelius; the title, '*Oratio de Catharina quam vocant Sancta, eademque sæculi post Christum natum quarti Virgine et Martyre fictitia.*' The character of this work is sufficiently manifest from its title, so that my not being able to procure a copy of it may after all be an advantage rather than a drawback. Nor need it, on the other hand, be regretted that the labours of the Bollandists did not reach the 25th of November (the day on which St Catharine is usually commemorated); for we have thus an opportunity of exemplifying throughout the kind of process to be encountered, and the kind of evidence to be sifted, if we would cultivate any close acquaintance with the Mediæval Saints.

Appended to this paper is a Semi-Saxon Legend of St Catharine, which besides illustrating the subject in hand, will prove valuable as a specimen of our own language at an early stage of its formation. There are extant (at least) three MSS. of this Legend, one in the *Bodleian* (NE, 3, xl.), and the others in the Library of the *British Museum*, (*Cottonian*, Titus, D. xviii. fol. 133 seqq., and *King's*, 17 A. xxvii. 2). The second MS. has supplied the text of the present impression, and by a collation of it with the third I have been enabled to correct some errors of the transcriber, which might otherwise

have perplexed us. The Semi-Saxon will be found to be a version, somewhat free and paraphrastic, of the Latin Legend (*Cotton. MSS. Calig. A. VIII. 15*, and *Cambridge University, G. C. 1. 26*), to which reference is made in the following pages.

C. H.

P. S. After the above was arranged for the press, I discovered accidentally that the Semi-Saxon account of St Catharine had been printed in the year 1841 for the members of the 'Abbotsford Club,' under the learned editorship of the Rev. James Morton. In consequence of this discovery I proposed to withhold the publication of that part of my paper, but the advice of several friends, who represented the philological importance of the Legend, and the fewness of the copies already printed, has induced me to re-adopt my original intention.

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## ST CATHARINE OF ALEXANDRIA.

It may be mentioned in the outset that Church History introduces us to several personages who have been honoured by the title St Catharine. They are distinguished as St Catharine of Ricci, St Catharine of Genoa, St Catharine of Bologna, St Catharine of Siena, St Catharine of Sweden and St Catharine of Alexandria. Four of them may be dismissed without further notice, since their fame has not extended beyond the places where they flourished. With respect to St Catharine of Siena it is desirable to make a few passing observations, and the rather because she has been sometimes confounded with the subject of this paper. She was born in 1347, and canonized in 1461. Besides the marvellous visions and austerities which made her the boast of the Dominican Order, she displayed much polemical acuteness in the conflict between Urban VI. and Clement VII. A zealous partisan of the former, she wrote many spirited epistles in his behalf to persons both at home and abroad. In our minds her name is chiefly associated with the works of art, suggested by her (so-called) marriage to our Saviour<sup>1</sup>. The symbols by which she is recognized are the stigmata of Christ's passion, said to have been miraculously inflicted on her hands and feet and side.

By St Catharine of Alexandria we are carried back to the early part of the fourth century; and as questions have been raised about the *name* of which she was the first owner, a short account of it may properly commence her history.

There are in Latin authors, at least five forms, *Æcaterina*, *Hecaterina*, *Hecatherina*, *Katherina*, *Catharina*. The last, *Catharina*, has now become very general in the Breviaries and Martyrologies; the first, *Æcaterina*, has the best claim to antiquity. Some persons, assuming that the word owes its origin to *Καθαρός*, have regarded the prefix as an error of the scribes. One conjecture<sup>2</sup> is that *Hecatherina* was the same as *Ἡ Καθερίνη*, the article having become amalgamated with its noun. A different opinion is advocated by Reynolds<sup>3</sup>, who supposes that the title of St Catharine was originally *α. καθαρίνη* = *ἀγία καθαρίνη*. He gives a somewhat similar instance in A.

<sup>1</sup> In some of the Legends, St Catharine of *Alexandria* is also called 'the spouse of Christ,' but whether this would only indicate that she was a *Virgin*, does not appear very certain. All the particulars of her betrothal are *first* related in the 'Legende Dorée,' and in the Spanish 'Flos Sanctorum.' My original impression was that our St Catharine had been confounded with Catharine of Siena, but further examination convinces me that the marriage of the latter was more probably suggested by

that of her Alexandrian prototype. A circumstance mentioned by Lord Lindsay (*Christian Art*, Vol. II. p. 149) strengthens this conclusion. As early as 1300, (i.e. before the birth of Catharine of Siena), in a number of bas-reliefs which represent the history of our St Catharine, there is one on the subject of her marriage with Christ.

<sup>2</sup> See the 'Acta Sanctorum' on Feb. vi.

<sup>3</sup> De Romanæ Ecclesiæ IdololatRIA, lib. I. c. v. § 20. Oxon. 1596.

Gellius, which a certain critic had by mistake changed into *Agellius*. The Greek authors, however, who are the first to mention St Catharine, appear to set aside the above conjectures, by writing her name almost without exception *Αικατερίνα* or *Αικατερίνη*. Thus, in the *Menologium Basilianum*<sup>1</sup> (at the 25th of November) we find this title, Ἀθλῆσις τῆς ἁγίας μεγαλομάρτυρος Αἰκατερίνης; in Simeon Metaphrastes<sup>2</sup>, Μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας μεγαλομάρτυρος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Αἰκατερίνης; in the *Menologium Græcum*<sup>3</sup>, Μνήμην ἐπιτελοῦμεν τῆς ἁγίας μεγαλομάρτυρος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πανευφύμου Αἰκατερίνης. And in seven MS. Martyria of St Catharine surviving in the Colbertine Library<sup>4</sup>, the name is uniformly written *Αικατερίνη*. Still if we accept this as the current Greek form, we cannot therefore infer that it is of Grecian origin. The contrary seems far more probable, (1) from its outlandish aspect<sup>5</sup>, and (2) from the following facts. In a group of Saints<sup>6</sup> copied by Du Cange from an old Greek MS. the proto-martyr St Stephen occupies the center and St Catharine appears on his right hand wearing as usual her crown, and in this instance a consular robe; but, what is most remarkable, the name by which she is there described is ΑΙΚΑΤΕΡΙΝ, without the Greek termination. The same peculiarity occurs in a Greek Calendar, also belonging to the Colbertine Library, where at the 24th of November we find ΕΚΚΑΤΕΡΙΝ; although in the prefix of the word<sup>7</sup> and the day of the month this authority stands almost alone.

Having said thus much, I leave the etymological question<sup>8</sup> for the amusement of the learned; only remarking as of some importance, that the Latin word *Catharina* is unquestionably equivalent to *Αικατερίνα*. This appears (among other evidence) from the fact that the daughter of Philip, a titular Greek emperor, is designated by either name, according to the language of the writer.

We come now to the *sources of information* from which the history of St Catharine may be drawn.

I. That class of documents shall be first considered, wherein the reference to *her* is not doubtful, whatever be the authoritative worth of the documents themselves. I take this course in order to separate what is called the legendary from what is strictly speaking the historical; only with the proviso, that evidence is not to be refused

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I. p. 213, Urbini, 1727.

<sup>2</sup> Yet Lambecius, with this passage before him, supposes that *Αικατερίνα* might be Ἡ Κατερίνα, because it often happens (he says) that the Latins in copying Greek MSS. substituted α for η through their own confusion of the letters α and ε. Comment. de Biblioth. Cesar. Vindobonensi, Tom. VIII. p. 481, ed. 1782.

<sup>3</sup> Assemani Kalend. Eccl. Univers. Vol. v. p. 375, Rom. 1755.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. Menagii Hist. Mulierum Philosoph. p. 492, ad calc. Diogen. Laert. ed. Meibom.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. αἰγυπῶς = γόψ.

<sup>6</sup> Vid. Glossarium Latin. Tabella x. ad calc. Tom. III. ed. Paris. 1678.

<sup>7</sup> Something like it has been observed on the seal belonging to the monks of Mount Sinai; the inscription, according to Crusius, is ἡ ἁγία Ἐκατερίνη τῶν Σιναιτών. Turco-Græcia, lib. III. § 1. (quoted by Reynolds, p. 220).

<sup>8</sup> A living philologer has suggested the Irish 'Kathleen,' diminutive of 'Kate,' as the origin of our word Catharine. Other attempts, equally infelicitous, may be seen in the 'Legenda Aurea' of Voragine. His first is, 'a *catha* quod est universus, et *ruina*, quasi *universalis ruina*. Nam in ea corruit edificium superbie per humilitates quas habuit, carnalis concupiscentia per virginitatem quam servavit.—Is not the prefix Α still retained in the Russian *Ekatérinoslaff* and *Ekatérinenbourg*?



merely because we find it in some suspected volume (a Martyrology, for example), but on account of other grave disqualifications rendering it unworthy of our confidence. History may, it is presumed, be hidden even among 'heaps of frivolous and scandalous vanities,' as Hooker somewhere styles the Legends; and if it is credulity to receive as true what is recorded in such writings *only*, it would seem an error of the opposite kind to stigmatize at once as fiction what we have never thought of testing. On this account the 'Elogia Sanctorum' have not been neglected in compiling the present Treatise. Those which yielded the best service are enumerated in chronological order:

- i. *The Passion of St Catharine in the 'Menologium Basilianum,'* a work illuminated for the use of a Greek emperor Basil, and certainly *not later* than the tenth century. The original belongs to the Vatican Library, and besides its hagiological value, it is regarded as one of the most precious repositories of the early Byzantine painting.
- ii. *The Acts of St Catharine by Simeon Metaphrastes*<sup>1</sup>. Their date has been much disputed, but it seems impossible to place them *earlier* than the year 900. A Latin Version has been published both in Lipomannus and in Surius.
- iii. *A Latin Passion of St Catharine*<sup>2</sup> *in the Cotton Library* (Calig. A. viii. 15). This I believe to be the parent of the Semi-Saxon Legend printed in the Appendix. The date is perhaps as early as 1150.

<sup>1</sup> Two more Greek Legends have come to my knowledge. The first is anonymous, and begins thus, Ταῦ παρανόμου καὶ ἀσεβεστάτου Μαζεντίου τυραννοῦντος τὴν βασιλείαν, κ.τ.λ. (Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. Vol. ix. p. 64). The second is by one Athanasius, who styles himself ταχυγράφος ἅμα δοῦλος τῆς κυρίας μου Αἰκατερίνης (Vid. Leon. Allat. de Symeonum Scriptis, pp. 92, 93). Lambecius (Tom. viii. p. 825) gives the following description of a copy of this MS. contained in the Library at Vienna. The title is Μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας μεγαλομάρτυρος Αἰκατερίνης, τῆς βασιλείας καὶ ῥήτορος. The Legend begins: "Ἐτους τρακοστοῦ πέμπτου βασιλείοντος τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς καὶ παρανόμου Μαζεντίου, κ.τ.λ. and ends as follows: Ταύτης τῆς φωνῆς ἀκούσασα ἡ ἁγία εἶπεν τῷ σπεκουλάτῳ· δέυρο, ἀδελφεί, ποιήσον τὸ κελεισθέν σοι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως. Προσελθὼν δὲ ὁ σπεκουλάτωρ ἀπέτεμεν αὐτῆς τὸν αὐχένα, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀντὶ τοῦ αἵματος γάλα ἔβρυσεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Καὶ κατελθόντες ἀγγέλοι ἦραν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπέθεντο ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινά, καὶ πολλοὶ ἐπίστανσαν τῷ Χριστῷ. Ταῦτα ἐγὼ Ἀθανάσιος συνέγραψα, ἅμα δοῦλος ὑπάρχων τῆς κυρίας μου Αἰκατερίνης. Ἐτελειώθη δὲ ἡ κυρία μου Αἰκατερίνα μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ κέ. εἰς δόξαν τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ

τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ δεῖ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. Another copy of the same Legend is preserved in the Bodleian Library (Barocian Collection, No. 180). The Rev. H. O. Coxe, who very politely examined it, is of opinion that it was not written earlier than towards the close of the eleventh century.

<sup>2</sup> This seems in its turn to be only a translation, or *rifacimento*, of the Greek Legend above described as the work of Athanasius. It has been printed, as I learn from a copy in the possession of Professor Corrie. A MS. note conjectures that Kochhof, of Cologne, was the printer, but no mention is made of either time or place. The title is, 'Dive virginis sancte Katherine historia seu eiusdem passionis series Rabbani abbatis.' The author, however, could not have been Rabanus Maurus (1) because it is nearly identical with the Legend of Athanasius, and (2) because if Rabanus had written a Passion of St Catharine, he would naturally have included her in his 'Martyrologium,' which he does not. I may also remark, that there is a shorter form of the same Legend among the Harleian MSS. No. 12. Lxi. c. fol. 141.

- iv. The '*Historia Lombardica sive Legenda Aurea de Vitis Sanctorum*' of Jacobus de Voragine (di Viraggio). The date is about 1290<sup>1</sup>. He was the most popular hagiologist of the Western Church, as Simeon Metaphrastes was of the Eastern.
- v. The '*Catalogus Sanctorum*' by Peter de Natalibus, which was first published in 1493. The portion relating to St Catharine has been reprinted in Lord Lindsay's '*Christian Art*' (Vol. i. pp. LXXXIII, seqq.)
- vi. The '*Flos Sanctorum*' por el Maestro Alonso de Villegas. This collection, which is the most fruitful in details, was first printed at Toledo in 1591. An English version appeared at Douay in 1615<sup>2</sup>.

The above narratives have been selected as types of the whole multitude, and will convey a full impression of the popular belief respecting St Catharine for *at least* seven centuries. The other legendary sources, whether in prose or verse<sup>3</sup>, supply us, so far as I have seen, with no additions of any moment; indeed they are found to be for the most part, in close relationship to some one of the above. There is not, however, much *circumstantial* agreement among the authorities I have specified. While the main features of the story are preserved throughout, we may trace a continual *growth* of information,—a gradual development (or deterioration) from the simpler to the florid. Each century appears to have filled up some blank, or to have amplified the details of the earlier descriptions, till St Catharine at length challenges the faith of Christendom, encircled by a nimbus peculiarly her own.

In order to shew this development more distinctly, and at the same time to put my readers in possession of the chief particulars of her history, I shall subjoin two of the narrations exactly as they reach us. The first is selected, partly because it is a short one, and partly because we have it in a curious English edition of the '*Liber Festivalis*' printed by Caxton. It has descended through the Semi-Saxon and the Latin Legend

<sup>1</sup> He had been preceded a few years by Vincent of Beauvais, whose '*Speculum Historiale*' treats very profusely of the Saints.

<sup>2</sup> The '*Lections*,' in the Roman and other Breviaries, for St Catharine's day, might be added to the above authorities; but these accounts have been so frequently changed that it is very difficult to fix the date at which any one was introduced. The same remark applies to the corresponding offices of the Greek Church, called '*Menæa*.' This much, however, seems certain, that the Legend of St Catharine was approved (if not first imported into the Roman service-books) by John XXII. about A.D. 1320, and afterwards corrected in several points by Pius V.

<sup>3</sup> Several metrical Lives of St Catharine in MS. are extant in our Public Libraries. A few copies of one at Cambridge (marked FF. n. 38) have been recently printed, for private circulation, under the

care of Mr Halliwell. The longest poetical Life is that of Marco Filippi, composed in *ottava rima*, and published at Venice in 1597. It consists of thirteen cantos. The opening stanza is given as a specimen:

La vita, i gesti santi, il puro core,  
L'èpio martir, l'acerba morte io cato  
D'vna Real Donzella; il cui valore  
Sour' ogn' altro che s'oda, acquista il vanto.  
Mentre il fiero Massenzo Imperadore  
Per trarla dal pensier pudico, e santo,  
La tormenta, l'affligge, e la percuote  
Con ferri, funi, carcer, fame, e ruote.

Three Poems on St Catharine date as far back as Alphanus, archbishop of Salerno, who died 1086, (Italia Sacra, n. 1101); besides these we have a vast number of Hymns by later writers. It may also be remembered that Dryden makes use of the Legend of St Catharine in his '*Tyrannic Love*.'

from the Greek of Athanasius, which most probably was in its turn based on Simeon Metaphrastes. The elaborate speeches of St Catharine disappear, and several of the marvels are considerably pruned down; but compensation has been made by some specimens of the pilgrim-tales of the period.

“De Sancta Katherina Virgine.

Good frendes suche a day ye shall haue saynt Katheryns day the holy marter. She was a kyngis doughter<sup>1</sup>, and come of grete byrthe; but she set all her mynde to God, and sette nought by the pryde, vaynglory and riches of this worlde, for it is but a vanyte, but she set her all only on Jhesu. Soo whan she had be at scole and lerned a while, anone she wolde dyspute with any clerke that wold come, for she was enspired wyth the Holy Gost. But whan she herde on a tyme y<sup>e</sup> Maxencus was come to toune of Alisaundre wyth soo moche peple and so ryally, that the cyte dōmed (?) of hem—for he come to make a solempe sacrifice to his goddis that were of golde and siluer, in liknesse of bullis and calues and other bestes—thenne saynt Katheryne saw that, and blessed her, and wente in to the temple, and rebuked themperour boldly, and sayd that he dyde fowle amysse for to doo y<sup>e</sup> worship to fendes, and leue the worship of God in heuen, that made al thyng of noughte, and sent man life, wytte, and hele; and preued by grete reason how Criste was bothe God and man, and how he boughte all mankynde wyth his passion on the crosse wyth his deth; and taughte how euery man shold honour God, and leaue false mawmentes. Thenne was the emperour wroth, and had take her to warde tyll he myghte be at leyser. Soo in the meane tyme, he sente after the grettest maysters and the wysest clerkes that were in many countreys ferre aboute hym. And whan they were comen, he had theym goo and dyspute wyth Katheryne, and ouercome her; and they sholde haue right well for their labour. Thenne were they wroth to come soo ferre to dyspute wyth a woman, and sayd the lest seoler in the scole had be ynough to ouercome her. But whan Katheryne had dysputed wyth theim, wyth the helpe of the Holy Gost<sup>2</sup> she conuerted theym everychone to the feyth of our Lorde Jhesu Crist, in so moche that they were redy to suffre deth for Crystis sake. Thenne anone Maxencus commaunded to make a grete fyre, and brenne theym in the fyre; but by the helpe of the Holy Gost, the fyre brenned noo partie of their bodies, ne the leest clothe of theym, and yet lay fayr dede as they had be a slepe. Thenne the emperour made doo Katheryne to be naked, and to bete her wyth sharpe scourges<sup>3</sup>, that she was all blodi, and full of woundes. And thenne he put her in to pryson seuen<sup>4</sup> dayes wythoute any maner mete or drynke. Thenne had y<sup>e</sup> quene<sup>5</sup> grete lust to speke with Kateryne, and toke a knyghte wyth her that highte Porphyrius, and went to Kateryne. And thenne they saw an angell set a crowne of shynyng golde on the quenes hede, and a nother on Porphyrius hede, and bad hem be stedfast; for wythin thre dayes they shold come to heuen by suffryng of marterdom. Thenne sent themperour after Katheryne, and wente to haue founde her nygh

<sup>1</sup> Simeon Metaphrastes says, she was sprung ‘ex sanguine regio;’ the modern Roman Breviary, that she was ‘nobilis virgo Alexandrina;’ the Menologium Basilianum, that she was the daughter *Σαντοκρου τινός*. Peter de Natalibus and others call her father Costus (? Constantius), King of Alexandria. A curious ‘Legend’ published at Strassburgh in 1508, (‘Nova quædam singularis atque rara Legenda ex aliis sex Legendis collecta et perfecta’), professes to supply the pedigree of Costus, and concludes that St Catharine must have been the grand-daughter of the first wife of the father of Constantine the Great. Mr Morton (in his Preface to the Semi-Saxon Legend) has given a still more romantic pedigree from the Harleian MSS. 2258, fol. 33, b. This supposed royal descent is alluded to in the fact that St Catharine is always repre-

sented wearing a crown.—For a variety of devotional representations of her, see Mrs Jameson’s ‘Sacred and Legendary Art,’ Vol. II. pp. 83, seqq.

<sup>2</sup> In allusion to this Divine help, a white dove is sometimes represented as descending upon St Catharine. A good example was pointed out to me in Didron’s ‘Iconographie Chrétienne;’ (pp. 415, 416, à Paris, 1843), by Mr A. W. Franks, of Trinity College.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Latin Legend (No. III.) she is first beaten with *scorpions*, and then with *iron rods*.

<sup>4</sup> The above authority and others read *twelve* days.

<sup>5</sup> The Spanish Legend gives her the name *Faustina*; the Semi-Saxon, *Auguste*.

dede; but all that tyme God sente her mete from heuen. And whan the emperour saw her a liue, he was wode for wrothe, and made her to be set between ij wheles, and torned one vpward and a nother downwarde, ful of hokes and swerde poyntes for all to rase Katheryne. Thenne come an angell as it had be a winde, and all to brake hem, and slew foure thousande of the tyrrautes. Thenne saw the quene that myracle, and come before the kynge her husbonde and rebuked hym, that he saw the myghte of God so openly and wolde not byleue theron. Thenne had the kynge lede forth the quene, and cut of her pappes from the body wyth hokes, and thenne to smyte of her hede. Thenne<sup>1</sup> for Porphirus beried her, and LXXX of her knyghtis were martyred with her and Porphirus beheded also. Thenne spake themperour to Katheryne and sayd, that he wolde wedde her, and she wolde forsake Criste, and byleue in his goddis: and she sayd she sette noughte by hym nor by his goddis. And whan he saw that, he made to smyte of her hede: thenne anone in stede of blode come oute fayr mylke. And thenne come an angell and bare the soule in to heuen; and angelles come and bare the body in to thaïre, and so to y<sup>e</sup> mounte of Sinay, and there beried it wyth worship. And there God werketh many fayre myracles to this day. At the fote of the mount there is an abbey<sup>2</sup> of monkes, that liuen in grete abstynence; and this abbey is strong and hie walled, and barred abowte wyth yren for wilde bestes. And in that abbey lieth saynt Katheryne in a fayr tombe of alabaster, for her bones were fet thider for the more worship. And aboue the chirche is the busshe, there God stode in whan He spake to Moyses, and wrote the law in ij tables of stone: and the busshe is also grened and fayr as it was the same day. Also in that abbey is a grete merueyle, and is this: Euery monke hathe a lampe wyth oyle brennyng, and whan he shal dey thei shal know by his lampe; for as he draweth to deth, so derketh his lampe. And whan thabbot deyeth, his bredern shall singe a masse of the Holy Gooste and hery hym solemny; and whan masse is done, they shal finde a bylle wreten on thawter, who shall be abbot, and so they chose her (i. e. their) abbot. Also on Saint Katherins nighte all the birdes in the countree comen thider, and eche of hem bringen a branche of oliue in her billis to y<sup>e</sup> place; and, as pilgrymes sayn, the monkes make oyle of the branches to her lampes for al the yere. We fynde and rede of a man that serued Katherine, and fasted her euen brede and water; and on a tyme he come in feliship of recheles peple, and bi comforte of hem he left his fast and eat wyth hem. And soo in the nyghte after he sawe a grete company of maidens coming by him, and amonge hem there was one passing al other; and eche of hem had a crowne, but one had a passinge fair crowne, and that was saynte Katheryne. So whan she come bi this man she hyd her face from hym, and wold not loke on him. Thenne he asked one of hem what thei were, and she sayd, We ben virgyns, and the principall that thou seest is saynt Katheryne, that bid her face from the, by cause thou hast left thy deuocyon fro her euyng of fastynge. Thenne this man repented hym sore that he had doo this dede, and torned agen to his deuocyon and fasted, and after was a holy man. And therefore let us worship this holy Vyrgin, that she may pray for us."

The second Legend which I propose to recite is that preserved in the 'Menologium Basilianum.' It has strong claims upon us both from its antiquity and the comparative simplicity of its contents. At the head of each Passion is a descriptive illumination of which rude wood-cuts were published at Urbino in 1727. A copy of the scene illustrating the subjoined letter-press is prefixed to the present paper:

"*ECATERINA* was a martyr of Alexandria and the daughter of a rich and noble chieftain (*βασιλίσκου τινός*). Being distinguished by talent as well as beauty, she devoted herself to

<sup>1</sup> There is some error of the press in this paragraph. It should probably be read: *Thenne LXXX. of her knyghtis were martyred with her, and Porphirus beheded also, for Porphirus beried her.* The number of the knights in the other Legends is *two hundred.*

<sup>2</sup> An account of this monastery is given below, p. 16, note (3). It may be observed, however, in this place, that an archbishop (to whom Alban Butler refers) understands the angelic bearers to be certain

*monks*, who during the oppression of the Saracens (in the *eighth* century) carried the remains of St Catharine into Arabia. In support of this neological interpretation, he remarks that the monks were, in the middle ages, frequently called 'angels,' and their habit in the Greek Church *σχήμα ἀγγελικών*.—In some churches a festival was established to commemorate the invention of the body on Mount Sinai. See 'Acta Sanctorum,' Maii Tom. III. p. 187.

Grecian literature and the study of philosophy, and was moreover master of the languages of all nations. On a Grecian festival in honour of the idols, she was moved by the sight of so many slaughtered animals, and came into the presence of Maximinus and expostulated with him in these words, 'Why hast thou left the living God to worship lifeless idols?' Whereupon the emperor gave her into custody and punished her severely. He then fetched fifty orators and bade them reason with Ecaterina and confute her, adding, 'If ye fail to overpower her, I shall consign every one of you to the flames.' But they, seeing themselves vanquished in the contest were all baptized and forthwith burnt. She, on the contrary, was beheaded!'

Such, in an English dress, is the Legend of St Catharine which was received by Eastern Christendom (for all we know) till the time of Simeon Metaphrastes. On comparing it with the English Legend before recited, we shall observe

(1) That the emperor in question is *Maximinus* and not *Maxentius*. Although this reading is opposed by all the other Legends<sup>2</sup>, it is unquestionably to be preferred, for Maxentius had never any command in Egypt and was never a persecutor of Christianity, both which conditions are fulfilled in Galerius Maximinus.

(2) That no mention is made in the Greek Menology, either of the wheel or wheels to which St Catharine is elsewhere said to have been attached.

(3) That there is the same silence respecting the translation of the body by angels to the summit of mount Sinai, respecting the martyrdom of the Queen, Porphyrius and the eighty (or two hundred) knights, and the slaughter of the four thousand by-standers.

It would be as tedious as unprofitable to state at length the variations of the other Legends, especially of the Spanish collection by Villegas. I may mention, however, as of some antiquarian interest, that the single *wheel* by which St Catharine is generally accompanied does not express the whole of what was formerly believed as to the nature of her punishment. The Roman Breviary (as it now stands) is the sole authority in favour of *one* wheel, for others speak of *two*<sup>3</sup> wheels and even of *four*. The Semi-Saxon Passion contained in the Appendix will be found very minute in its account of this matter, as indeed of every other connected with the martyrdom. It describes a complicated machine consisting of four wheels, every one set round with sharp blades of iron: 'þis pinfule gin was o swuch wise i-ginet, þat te twa turnden eiðer wiðward oðer ant anes weis baðe; þe oðer twa turnden anes weis alsua, ah to-ȝain þe oðre; swa þat hwen þe twa walden kasten upward þing þat ha cahten, þe oðre walden drahen hit ant dusten dunewardes; se grisliche i-greiðet, þat grure grap each mon hwen he lokede froun.' With this account agrees Simeon Metaphrastes in the main, though he (or his translator) expressed himself more vaguely. Distinct however are all the Legends in their mention of St Catharine's marvellous liberation, and of the terrible effects which followed. The angel of the Lord had no sooner broken the cords by which she was

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 213.

<sup>2</sup> The error was, however, corrected at the reformation of the Roman Breviary under Pius V., and also by Cornelius Grasius, in his edition of the 'Vite Sanctorum,' Colon. Agrip. 1616.

<sup>3</sup> According to our old English Legend, the martyr was placed between two wheels, full of

sword-points, of which one turned up and the other down: but the grand painting by Gaudenzio Ferrari (in the Brera at Milan) represents the spikes as set at right-angles to the face of the wheels; the object of the executioners being apparently to push them closer together instead of turning them, as in other cases.

tied down, than the engine spontaneously fell to pieces, and the wheels, whirling about in a most unearthly manner, destroyed four thousand unbelievers<sup>1</sup>!

The reader is now entitled to demand with what claims the above Legends are put forward, and in what light we wish them to be regarded?—It were easy enough to reply, that they are a tissue of deliberate *forgeries* which obtained circulation under cover of the ‘dark ages;’ but on the other hand, we should hesitate to prefer a charge of fraud, where the results can be explained on a more favourable supposition. May we, then, characterize those Legends as so many works of fiction, like certain ‘religious novels’ of our own and former times; or do they belong to that class of writings, which if not history, may at least be denominated *historical romances*? In the one case, the author *intended* his story to be no more than a vehicle of moral teaching; in the other, the ground-work of the story was real (rested, that is, on accredited facts and persons), but drew its embellishments from his own imagination. Now I submit that the former hypothesis is untenable and unworthy of the sober critic; for although it affords the shortest solution of many historical difficulties, it does so by cutting through a knot which ought in fairness to be unravelled. The ‘Legenda,’ as the word implies, were publicly read with a religious object, were embodied in Sermons and Service-Books as portions of genuine Church History; and we naturally shrink from the idea that any one would sanction in such a way what was *professedly* mere romance<sup>2</sup>. For this and similar reasons I am led to prefer the other hypothesis, viz. that we may generally expect to find *some* elements of truth in this species of composition, however much that truth has been debased by the subsequent exaggerations which credulous and uncritical ages have confounded with it. Our remark may be exemplified in the story of St Catharine. Some have denounced the whole as a clumsy fable, because the later Legends assign her martyrdom to *Maxentius*; an emperor, it is urged, who had no command in Egypt, and was never once in Alexandria. But the *oldest* Legend, as we have seen, rectifies this error, and renders the story so far credible, by making the tyrant *Maximinus*. It has again been argued that the mention of Costus, a *King* of Alexandria, proves only the extreme ignorance of the fabricator: but the oldest authority interposes a second vindication, making no mention whatever of Costus, and calling St Catharine’s father no more than βασιλίσκος. Unhappily for us, however, the hagiologists themselves refuse this kind of treatment, by maintaining the *entire* truthfulness of their narrations. It is not enough if we admit that the outline is correct; we must yield equal credence to the details and the colouring. When Bellarmine ventured

<sup>1</sup> Another example of this species of miracle is recorded in the Legend of St *Christina*, a martyr in the Diocletian persecution, who supplies in some other respects a parallel to St *Catharina*. In describing the torments inflicted on her, Ribadencira has the following passage (quoted in Dr Maitland’s ‘Church in the Catacombs,’ p. 164, 2nd ed.): “Pater indignatus filiam mox in ferream jussit agi rotam, nonnihil a terra elevatam, sub qua prunas

oleo aspersas curavit apponi. Non tulit hanc crudelitatem Deus, qui machinam contrivit, et mille *paganos* spectaculo presentes impiis illis ignibus involutos occidit.”

<sup>2</sup> e.g. We can scarcely conceive the public reading of the ‘Loves of Theagenes and Chariclea,’ and other compositions of the Thessalian bishop, Heliodorus: although their tone and moral are highly Christian.

to characterize the productions of Simeon Metaphrastes as largely indebted to his own ingenuity, as statements 'non ut res gestæ fuerant, sed ut geri potuerant,' the imputation was warmly repelled by another writer of the Roman communion, who seems to have shewn successfully, that Simeon *believed in his own Martyrologies*, as veritable history throughout<sup>1</sup>.

I make these remarks, not with the idea that they are sufficient to determine so great a question, but simply to assist the reader in estimating what has gone before. It is now time that we proceed from the legendary to what would be called the historical division of our inquiry.

II. *What other notices, we ask, have survived respecting St Catharine and her martyrdom?*

The authorities above consulted, all place her at the *beginning of the fourth century* (for that is the age both of Maxentius and Maximinus), yet the earliest of these authorities, the Greek Menology, was not itself compiled before the time of the *first* emperor Basil, who died in 886. We see, therefore, the desirableness of procuring some other evidence, *more nearly contemporary* with the subject to whom it relates, and consequently of greater weight in fixing our belief.

A passage in Eusebius<sup>2</sup>, from its resemblance to the foregoing traditions, has been thought an allusion to the self-same person. If this identity can be established, we are at once on firm ground, listening to an historian of unquestionable merit. The words of Eusebius may be rendered thus: "A certain Christian, the most famous and most noble of all the ladies<sup>3</sup> of Alexandria, when the rest were corrupted by the tyrant, alone vanquished his unbounded lust by a courage the most manly. She was illustrious by reason of her wealth and family and learning, but held all things secondary to her virtue. Maximinus in vain assaulted her, but his affection getting the better of his fury, he would not put her to death, although she was willing to undergo the sentence. He deprived her, however, of all her property, and sent her into banishment."

In both cases the date is about A. D. 307; both are ladies of Alexandria, both are rich, learned and noble: yet in Eusebius no *name* is added, and what is more, the lady spoken of by him is said to have been only *banished*. Nor is this all: they who would see St Catharine in the pages of the father of Church History have a yet greater difficulty to encounter. Rufinus of Aquileia published his Latin version of Eusebius about the year 400, i. e. within a century after the reign of Galerius Maximinus. In that version, among other interpolations, Rufinus gives the *name* of the lady in question: it is *Dorothea*, and not *Catharina*. To set aside the objections hereby introduced.

<sup>1</sup> See Leo Allatius, de Simeonum Scriptis Diatriba, pp. 43—47. One passage from Metaphrastes deserves quotation, where he is expressing his fear lest the reader should be startled by a prodigious story of his name-sake Symeon Stylites the elder. His words are, Ἀλλὰ δέδοικα μή τοις μετὰ ταῦτα μῦθος εἶναι δόξῃ τῆς ἀληθείας γεγενημένους, and then he adds, φιλοῦσι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τῇ φύσει

μετρεῖν τὰ γινόμενα· εἰ δέ τις τῶν αὐτῆς ὥρων ἐπεκεῖνα λέγοιστο, ψευδὴς τοῖς τῶν θείων ἀμύητοις ὁ λόγος νομίζεται.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. Eccl. lib. viii. c. 14.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek determines nothing as to the *age* of the lady in question: Μῶνῃ γοῦν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου μεμαιχενέμων, Χριστιανῇ, κ. τ. λ.



Baronius<sup>1</sup> would proceed as follows: Hecaterina (as he writes it) was the name borne by St Catharine as a heathen; Dorothea, the name given to her at baptism. The reason of the change might be in her case as in others, because her former name savoured of pagan superstitions, *Hecaterina* (according to him) being derived from *Hecate*. As, however, she had rendered herself illustrious while a heathen, the old name continued to be applied to her after her conversion.

Now besides the improbability of *Αἰκατερίνα*, the true form, having any connexion with Hecate, and the equal improbability that such a name would be retained in preference to the Christian name of Dorothea, it should be observed that the western Church has long appropriated a distinct day to the honour of the latter, viz. the sixth of February, while it has commemorated St Catharine on the twenty-fifth of November<sup>2</sup>.

As if in distrust of his own harmony, Baronius next endeavours to bring discredit on Rufinus, asking how he could have ascertained a name of which Eusebius was quite ignorant? Yet, Rufinus had travelled in Egypt and might have easily collected additional information. Baronius then proceeds to state his own belief (for such only can it be regarded), that as Eusebius knew so little of the lady he mentions, he might also be unacquainted with the particulars of her death. After her banishment (according to the same hypothesis) she betook herself to the mountains of Arabia, the common refuge of Alexandrian Christians in time of persecution. Thither (adds Baronius) the unsated vengeance of the tyrant pursued her, and being discovered on mount Sinai, she was carried back to Alexandria, and there suffered martyrdom<sup>3</sup>. It is only fair to mention, how the Roman annalist<sup>4</sup> and after him Tillemont lament that Eusebius has not said more of St Catharine and that the 'Acts' have not said less, truth being constantly brought into suspicion by these legendary admixtures.

The above is, I believe, all the evidence, in any degree contemporary, which is known to survive respecting St Catharine. If in the judgment of the reader, her identity with the lady in Eusebius be made out, it follows that she lived in the time of Galerius Maximinus<sup>5</sup>, and about the year 307 was the object of his brutal violence. If this identity be *not* established, the question must continue in suspense, till more

<sup>1</sup> Annal. Eccl. Tom. III. ad an. 307, xxxi.

<sup>2</sup> This argument, however, is not *quite* conclusive, for the same saint elsewhere has two days assigned him by the Roman Martyrology. Le Quien (Oriens Christianus, Vol. II. p. 621) admits that Theodore, bishop of *Ptolemais*, celebrated on the 26th of March, and Theodore, bishop of *Cyrene*, celebrated on the 4th of July, are the same person.

<sup>3</sup> Reynolds, in his treatise 'De Roman. Eccl. Idololatria,' (lib. I. c. v. Oxon. 1596), examines at length the arguments adduced by Baronius in favour of St Catharine. He denies her existence altogether. In the same tone Basnage, after avowing his design to reduce the number of the saints, endeavours to shew that St Catharine, 'so far from

having a place in heaven, subsists only in the imagination of her votaries.' Histoire de l'Eglise, pp 1055, 1056.

<sup>4</sup> The language of Baronius is striking: "Cum doleamus ab Eusebio pretermisssa, magis angimur ab incerto Authore, quo fusius, eo minus fideliter quam par est, Acta ejusdem nobilissimæ Martyris fuisse conscripta. Præstat namque in rebus Martyrum aliorumque sanctorum multa desiderari quam omni ex parte nutantia plurima cumulari."

<sup>5</sup> He received the government of the East as the colleague of Constantius (? our *Costus*) in May, 305. In the following year he visited Alexandria, and condemned to death the two Christian Augustals, Mennas and Hermogenes, besides committing other barbarities.



cogent proofs have been discovered; and in this verdict concur no less names than Bolland<sup>1</sup>, Ruinart<sup>2</sup>, Tillemont<sup>3</sup>, and Pagi<sup>4</sup>.

So long as we allow the above passage of Eusebius to be doubtful, we cannot of course reason, as some have done, from his *silence* respecting St Catharine. At the same time, it must be confessed that this argument, when derived from the silence of other authors is very powerful and perplexing. There are many of the fourth and following centuries who might reasonably be expected to mention the object of our research, who yet write as though they had not been acquainted even with her name. The difficulty which this consideration presents was first urged by a German chronicler, Gobelinus Persona<sup>5</sup>, who died about the year 1420. His strictures were reproduced in the sixteenth century by the learned George Cassander, who commenced a Scholium<sup>6</sup> on a certain Hymn 'de S. Catharina' after the following manner: "Hujus Hymni auctorem recentiorem esse necesse est, nam *ante annos*, ut plurimum, *trecentos* Latinis Catharinæ nomen non innotuit; ne Græcis quidem, unde ad Latinos ejus cultus pervenit, multo ante cognita fuisse videtur." He then mentions several authorities from which the absence of St Catharine is quite inexplicable, adding in a hopeless tone, "Quod si quis comperti aliquid de hac re adferre possit, magnam sane apud me et rerum ecclesiasticarum studiosos initurus esse gratiam." It will be seen, however, from what has preceded, as well as from evidence hereafter to be adduced, that Cassander was much mistaken as to the time when St Catharine began to be illustrious. Her reputation was established long before the thirteenth century, although in the interval between the fourth and the ninth, no trace of her has been hitherto detected. I make this statement because the justice of the case requires it, not because I would evade the force of Cassander's argument taken altogether. The silence of many writers under such circumstances is, to say the least, suspicious; for if St Catharine were the person which the Legends make her, no one would be more conspicuous among the Eastern martyrs, no one would be more likely to have fixed the interest of the hagiologist and historian. After Eusebius, who has been withdrawn from the inquiry, we should naturally consult, in the first instance, a writer like Heraclides. He was ordained deacon by St Chry-

<sup>1</sup> Acta Sanctorum in Febr. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Acta Martyrum, A.D. 303.

<sup>3</sup> Mémoires Eccles. Tome v. p. 448.

<sup>4</sup> Ad Baron. A.D. 307, xvi. The Archbishop of Paris and a committee of divines went much farther: for on their revision of the Paris Breviary in the year 1680, St Catharine was summarily ejected. Vid. Menag. Hist. Mul. Philosoph. p. 493.

<sup>5</sup> Cosmodromium, Ætat. vi. c. xv. ed. Meibom. Francofurt. 1599. His argument was repeated in 1472 by Nicolas Clopper, a Canon-Regular, in the 'Florarium Temporum.'

<sup>6</sup> Opp. Paris. 1616, pp. 277, 278. He quotes also from an unknown writing, "quod de ortu S. Catharinæ inscribitur, in quo et præclara illa historia de Costo, a civitate Costnitz denominato, et in regem Græciæ creato memoratur. Ait enim scriptor

ille in hunc modum, 'Et illud (inquit) est inventum per Joannem vicesimum secundum in Cronica Græcorum, et de beata Catharina in Martyrologio positum;' unde colligitur, a temporibus Joannis vicesimi secundi, qui illud primus Martyrologis inseruit, et nomen Catharinæ nostris hominibus innotuisse, et ab eo tempore cultum et venerationem ejus cepisse." Cassander thinks it probable that the whole story is due to the monastery of mount Sinai, an abbot of which is reported to have fetched the body of St Catharine from Alexandria, in obedience to a revelation from heaven. In one of his Epistles (xiii. p. 1093), where the subject is resumed, he appears to adopt a different tone, expressing himself still ready to hear any thing either certain or probable which might be adduced in favour of St Catharine.

sostom, A. D. 399<sup>1</sup>, and would thus be removed only one generation from the date of St Catharine's martyrdom. It was, moreover, a main object of his 'Paradisus' to commemorate the virtues 'feminarum provectorum atque honestarum, ac spiritualium matrum, quæ virili perfectoque sensu, ad exemplum amoreque divinum eorum qui desiderant continentiae ac pudicitiae redimiri coronis, cum insigni abstinencia finire certamina?.' Lastly, the author was occupied with the lives of *Egyptian* saints, and recounts numerous examples of heroism among the Christians of Alexandria<sup>2</sup>, with whom he seems to have resided for a period of nine years. Yet nowhere does he throw any light upon the subject of this paper, either by direct testimony to her sanctity or allusion to her person.

I now proceed from what is at the best dim and dubious to more positive notices of St Catharine. Fleury<sup>3</sup> expresses an opinion, that the first recorded instance of any religious honour being paid to her, occurs in the tenth century. In his account of Paul of Latra, a famous anchorite, who died A. D. 956, it is stated<sup>4</sup> that one of the feasts observed by him with especial rejoicing was the feast of *St Æcaterina*, martyr. The historian then adds, 'C'est la preuve la plus ancienne que l'on trouve de son culte<sup>5</sup>.' Without questioning the anecdote, we may impeach the accuracy of the accompanying statement; for the 'Menologium Basilianum,' which was in all probability compiled about the year 880, expressly assigns to her honour the 25th of November. And if we may assume that the Calendar was rather enlarged and illustrated than arranged for the first time (which is no unreasonable assumption), it is quite possible that Catharine had a place among the saints even before the ninth century<sup>7</sup>.

A second notice of her in Fleury is extremely interesting. He tells us that she became first known in France about the year 1030, under the following peculiar circumstances. Simeon of Trèves, after many wanderings in different countries, had entered a monastery at the foot of mount Sinai<sup>8</sup>. Being a person of credit and

<sup>1</sup> Fabricii Biblioth. Græca, Tom. ix. p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> See the dedication prefixed to the Paris ed. 1503.—I may mention also in this place, that the name of St Catharine is not found in the Æthiopic Calendar, printed by Ludolf, nor in the 'Kalendarium Eccles. Constantinopol.' proved by the editor Morcelli to be earlier than 740.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. the Virgin Potamiana, cap. i.; an anonymous Virgin of Alexandria, cap. ii.; Macarius, a presbyter of that city, cap. vi.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. Eccl. liv. lv. s. 52.

<sup>5</sup> The authority for this statement is an anonymous Greek writer, whose life of the hermit, Paul, was found in the Sforzian Library at Rome. In a translation made for the use of Baronius we have the following passage: "Aliorum quidem Sanctorum memorie hilaritatis ansam Paulo dabant; martyris vero Æcaterine non solum voluptate sanctum replebat, sed propemodum exultatione et tripudio."

<sup>6</sup> In like manner Tillemont (v. 448): "Je pense

qu'on ne trouve pas que les Grecs aient parlé de Ste. Catherine avant le x siècle."

<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately Notker's 'Martyrologium,' A.D. 894, (printed in Canisius, Vol. II. Part 3), wants the portion which would be interesting to us. We may also regret that an Arabic 'Martyrium' of St Catharine mentioned by Asseman (Biblioth. Orient. Tom. III. Part. I, p. 236) is not within our reach.

<sup>8</sup> The monastery on mount Sinai, connected with the memory of St Catharine, traces back to a high antiquity. Communities of ascetics were established on that mountain in the fourth century. The present convent is ascribed with great probability to Justinian, who caused it to be erected in the year 527. The site which it occupies is far below the summit of the mountain within a strong fortress. (Dr Robinson's 'Researches,' Vol. I. pp. 184, 185). When the mountain received its name, *Jebel Kâtherin*, cannot be discovered, nor is there any distinct evidence as to the date when the relics (supposed genuine) were brought down to their

moreover master of five languages, he was sent to Rouen to receive an alms which was given to that monastery from year to year by Richard II. duke of Normandy. After a narrow escape from pirates and numerous other adventures, Simcon arrived at Rouen, but ascertained to his great discomfort that duke Richard was no more, and that the alms was not forthcoming. The monk took up his lodgings at the house of a gentleman named Gosselin, whom he ere long persuaded to build a monastery on the hill close by Rouen. *There he deposited certain relics of St Catharine*, which he had brought with him from the east. 'This church,' says Fleury, 'has preserved the name, and it was then, if I mistake not, that *St Catharine began to be known in France.*'

We come now to the last stage of our inquiry, What are the earliest notices of St Catharine in the records of *English* history?

The only trace, which I have been able to discover in Anglo-Saxon times, occurs in the 'Martyrology' ascribed to Bede. At the end of the 'vii. Kalend. Decemb.' devoted to St Peter, bishop of Alexandria, is this sentence, 'Eodem die passio *S. Catharine virginis* et martyris Christi et aliorum.' On further examination, however, it appears that the Martyrology, if in substance Bede's, has received large additions from later hands<sup>1</sup>. The paragraph in question is the last of a long notice of St Peter of Alexandria, and is quite disconnected from all that precedes it. In the absence of other allusions to St Catharine, and especially from the omission of her name<sup>2</sup> in Latin

present resting-place. It is, however, certain that the convent subsequently came into repute by the institution of a military order called *The Knights of St Catharine*. It was founded, according to some, in 1063 or 1067, while others deny its existence before the twelfth century. The Knights observed the rule of Saint Basil, and were entirely of the Greek communion. The ground-colour of their outer dress was white, on which were delineated the instruments of martyrdom, viz. a half-wheel armed with spikes and a sword stained with blood. Their main business was to protect pilgrims, who now began to flock from all quarters to worship at St Catharine's tomb. (See 'Histoire des Ordres Religieux,' Tome i. pp. 274, 275; à Paris, 1714.) One of the earliest travellers who describes the relics and shrine of St Catharine, is our own Sir John Maundeville, about the year 1322. (See 'Early Travels in Palestine,' Bohn's Ed. p. 158). A few years later, we have another circumstantial account by William de Baldensel (in 'Canisii Thesaur. Monument.' Vol. iv. p. 344; ed. Basnage). Pococke, after describing the convent church (which is purely basilican), supplies us with the following information, "On a partition between the high altar and the church, is a marble chest adorned with reliefs of foliages, in which are preserved the relics of St Catharine. Among them is the skull, which probably is imperfect, because it is not taken out, and the left hand very perfect, having on the fingers several rings, and is adorned

with pearls." Travels, p. 150. The shrine is still shewn to modern pilgrims.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Cave, Hist. Liter. sub 'Beda,' and Tillemont, Tome v. p. 761. Gobelius Persona expressly states that in his time (about 1400), there was no allusion to St Catharine either in Eusebius, Jerome, or Bede. Vid. Cosmodrom. Ætat. vi. c. xv.

<sup>2</sup> It does not appear in the Calendar discovered by Mabillon, date A. D. 483, (Vet. Analect. p. 163, Paris, 1723); nor in one published by D'Achery, Spicilegium, Tom. x. p. 141, date about 826; nor in a metrical version of *Bede's Martyrology*, ibid. p. 129; nor in the Martyrology of Rabanus, A. D. 855, (in Canisius, Tom. ii. Part 2); nor in Aldhelm, De Laude Virginitatis, about 690, although the most illustrious virgins are commemorated by name. St Peter of Alexandria still retained his place (vii. Kalend. Decem.) in the Calendar given by Hampson, Vol. i. p. 418, date about 970; and St Catharine is not mentioned. Neither does any trace of her occur in an Anglo-Saxon Calendar, not later than 860 (in Hickee, Thesaurus, Vol. ii. pp. 186, seqq.); nor in a 'Menologium Poeticum,' not later than 990 (Ibid. Vol. i. p. 203); nor in the 'Anglo-Saxon Ritual,' published by the Surtees Society, 1840. It should, however, be stated, that in a Calendar of Normanno-Saxon character (Hampson, Vol. i. p. 432), we meet with 'S'ce Caterine uir.] mar.' This is assigned by Dr Hickee to the year 1031, which is very nearly the same year when St Catharine was

and Anglo-Saxon Calendars, I think it highly probable that she was unknown in England for at least seven centuries after the date assigned to her martyrdom. The sentence in Bede's 'Martyrology' might have been inserted at a time when she was *beginning* to emerge from obscurity: for it is a singular fact, well attested, that the 25th of November had long been entitled 'St Peter of Alexandria,' whereas when St Catharine came into general reputation, her name rapidly took the lead of several other saints commemorated on the same day, and in the end Peter of Alexandria fell into his present position, the 26th of November<sup>1</sup>.

Whatever may be thought of the foregoing remarks, it is unquestionable that St Catharine meets us as soon as we have entered on Anglo-Norman history. She had been for some time established in Rouen, and would naturally obtain a free passage among the crowd of ecclesiastics who followed the fortunes of the Conqueror. Nor were other reasons wanting which might conspire to crown such a saint with more than usual honour. Her death, full of the marvellous and heroic, would be a favourite theme for the fancy of the many; while the eloquence and wisdom, whereby she had confounded the unbelievers, made her a fit protectress of Christian philosophy. The savants of Paris<sup>2</sup> seem to have been the first to place themselves under her patronage, and their example was followed in all quarters, in proportion as the spirit of literature revived and gave rise to the universities and monastic schools.

introduced at Rouen. Yet in another Calendar (Hampson, i. 445), which ranges between the years 978 and 1097, the 25th of November contains 'Hic obiit Wulfwin mat. Ælfwini abb.' Perhaps Dr Hickes has antedated the former Calendar by a few years. It should also be stated that a notice of St Catharine, similar to that in Bede's Martyrology occurs in the Martyrology of Ado, Archbishop of Vienne, who died A.D. 875; but we concur in the supposition of Tillemont, that this passage, as well as the one in Bede, was added by some later hand (Mém. v. 761). The same remark applies to a notice in Usuard's 'Martyrologium,' ed. Molanus; for the Bollandists admit that the oldest MSS. are altogether silent respecting her. Acta Sanct. Jun. Tom. vii. p. 693.

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Acta Sanctorum, Junii Tom. vii. p. 699. Among the Greeks it would seem that St Mercurius also formerly took the lead of St Catharine on the twenty-fifth of November. (Ibid. Maii Tom. i. lxx.) There is, however, much diversity in the various Calendars as to the *order* of the Saints commemorated. See Asseman, 'Kalendar. Eccl. Univers.' Vol. v. p. 375. Once only (in addition to the example in p. 6) do we find St Catharine at the *twenty-fourth* of November, viz. in the 'Ephemerides Moscorum,' where it is worth remarking the name is written ΕΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΑ. She is crowned in the accompanying figure, and holds a sword in her right hand and a toothed-wheel in her left. (Acta Sanctorum, Maii Tom. i.)

<sup>2</sup> Menage, Hist. Mulier. Philosopharum, p. 492.

An indication of this her special pre-eminence may be seen in the following passage from Brand's 'Popular Antiquities,' Vol. i. p. 197. ed. Ellis:

'Saint Barbara looks that none without the body of Christ doe dye;

Saint Cathern favours learned men and gives them wisdoms hye,

And teacheth to resolve the doubtles, and alwayes giveth ayde

Unto the scolding sophister to make his reason stayde.'

Among the Orations of the learned Martin Crusius, we have one 'De D. Catharina, Philosophiæ habita Præside,' Basil. 1566, pp. 68—84. He believes that St Catharine was no more than a *Minerva* of the Christians, created by some poetical genius at the time when the Emperor Julian forbade them to make use of pagan authors. "Hinc verisimile est fluxisse narrationem de D. Georgio et regia Virgine, ad imitationem Persei et Andromedæ; S. Christophori, ad imitationem Cyclopi Euripidei; sic etiam narrationem de D. Catharina, ad imitationem Græcæ Minervæ." He illustrates this parallel at great length, remarking towards the end, "Unde et hoc sequitur, hunc martyrii hujus diem, a bonarum artium egragarumque scientiarum magistris, piis cogitationibus quotannis recte celebrari." An Oration of a very different character 'in Laudem D. Æcatherinæ,' is contained among the works of Osorius, the Jesuit, Tom. iv. ed. Rom. 1592.

The actual circumstances, under which she is introduced to us on this side the Channel, are curious in more points than one. The mastership of the school at St Alban's being vacant, an offer of it was made, about the year 1100, to one Geoffrey de Gorram, or Gorham, a Norman of high reputation for learning. He seems, however, not to have been forward in accepting the invitation, for on his arrival the school was given to another. Geoffrey, hereupon, lectured at Dunstable, waiting for the next vacancy at St Alban's, and composed meanwhile a play or miracle, called '*Ludus Sancte Catharine*.' After its completion, he borrowed a number of copies from the sacrist of the neighbouring abbey of St Alban's, and dressing out his own scholars, exhibited (we believe) the first theatrical piece recorded in English history<sup>1</sup>.

From this period St Catharine speedily became popular in all parts of England; and as existing foundations<sup>2</sup> spare us the trouble of much further research, I shall conclude this Paper by a notice which occurs in Gervase of Canterbury<sup>3</sup>. The date is A. D. 1186.

It appears that Archbishop Baldwin (in the series second from Becket) was contemplating the erection of a collegiate church, outside the town of Canterbury, which might serve as an establishment for the secular clergy, whom he had been led to patronize, and also as a place for consecrations and other metropolitical functions. Armed with the royal assent, and anxious to complete his arrangements before Christmas, the archbishop hastened towards Canterbury, having conducted his negotiations so secretly, that the monks, his enemies, were quite ignorant of his purpose. A project, likely to lower the dignity of the regulars, called for special assistance: the friends of the monastery, within and without, needed a strong stimulus to exertion, and accordingly succour the most effective came in most opportunely. "For," proceeds our story, "while the monks were taking a little rest *on the night of St Catharine*, after the matin-lauds (post laudes matutinas), there stood by one of them, who was a youth of good parts and a Levite, a person of venerable aspect, clothed in white, calling to him, 'Andrew, Andrew, Andrew, John'—for the youth had two names, one given him at baptism, the other on making his profession. Starting, as it seemed, from sleep, he asked his visitor, 'My lord, what wilt thou?'—for he thought within himself that it was St Thomas. 'Arise, and come with me,' quoth the saint, who thereupon led the way out of the dormitory, and entered the choir of the church. At that moment the monks seemed to be assembled in congregation, all looking very doleful and sitting in great anguish of heart. The approach of St Thomas was no sooner perceived, than they seemed all to rise from their seats, and to bow head and body in adoration. Our young monk was advancing to his own seat, but the saint turned round upon him, and taking him by the sleeve, said unto him 'Follow me.' They proceeded to the tower contiguous to the choir and in the midst thereof, the monk desiered, to his wonderment and horror, a machine great and very terrible—a *wheel*, namely, of immense size, emitting flames of

<sup>1</sup> See Matt. Paris. Vit. Abbat. S. Alban. p. 56, and Dugdale's Monasticon, Vol. II. p. 184. new ed.

<sup>2</sup> One of the earliest was the Royal Hospital and Church of St Katharine, London, founded by

Matilda, the wife of King Stephen, A. D. 1143. See Nichols' History of it.

<sup>3</sup> Apud Scriptores x. col. 1431.

sulphur. ‘Behold a *Catharine wheel!*’ cried the saint, ‘larger too than the original, and threatening this house with far greater ruin.’”

The wheel, it need scarcely be added, with all its circumstances of terror, was made to symbolize Baldwin’s invasion of the privileges of the monks.

I abstain from summing up the evidence already submitted to the reader, because I wish him to draw his own conclusion ‘sine odio et sine dilectione.’ It is, moreover, possible, that further notices of St Catharine may yet be discovered, enabling us to speak more positively as to her origin, or at least tending to abate the suspicions, which our present stock of information is calculated to excite. We cannot argue, like writers of the Roman communion, that her existence and sanctity are alike established by miracles<sup>1</sup>, alleged to have been wrought at her intercession even down to our own days; but we *may hold ourselves ready* to weigh any additional proofs from history, that there was in the fourth century an Alexandrian Virgin, who sacrificed not only her property but her life, for the sake of our holy religion.

<sup>1</sup> It is said that Joan of Arc was an ardent votary of St Catharine, and undertook her patriotic mission at the bidding of our Saint, who frequently communicated with her in visions. See Monstier, *Sacrum Gynecæum*, p. 470, Paris, 1657.



regis Athor marchone qz ruma  
 in hunc et glorificauit katherine  
 et in fine quis deuotus katherine





## A Semi-Saxon Legend of St Catharine of Alexandria.

(From a MS. in the Cotton Library, Titus D. xviii. fol. 133.)

[THIS Legend may be assigned to the early part of the 13th century. It is here printed continuously, like an ordinary prose composition; in which form we find it in the MSS. At the same time, the alliterative style in many portions, and the rhythm and cadence which pervade the whole, are conclusive proofs that the structure was originally metrical. The dots or points, by which Anglo-Saxon verse is mainly distinguishable, have disappeared or been misplaced through the negligence of the scribes; on which account, as well as for greater distinctness, the sentences are now broken into their subordinate clauses by the use of modern punctuation. This step of course involves the Editor in some responsibility; but he has derived both help and confidence from the collation of the Latin Legend.]

The various readings supplied by the other Semi-Saxon MS. are, comparatively speaking, of little moment. Those only are here made use of which throw light upon the meaning. The orthographical peculiarities, which are numerous, betray the dialect of the transcriber: *e.g.* *lutle*, *dude*, *wunde*, *wult*, where *u* takes the place of *i*: *biworen*, *steðlucest*, *uct*, where *u* is equivalent to *f*: *lfdi*, *wernin*, *wriren*, *etstutte*, where we have *e* instead of *a*: the infinitive termination *en* is nearly always in; the final *d* is very frequently *t*, as in *weouet*, *geont*, *i-font*. Besides these, there are other varieties which seem to claim a somewhat greater antiquity for the text of the King's MS. Thus it retains the dual forms of the pronouns, *wit* = we two, and *unc* = you two; the final *n* of the infinitive and the final *t* of the 2nd sing. Indic. pres., both of which are often dropped in the Titus MS.: it also preserves *ð* in the 3rd plur. where the other MS. reads *n*, and uses *þe* as a relative where the other has *þat*.]

Constantin ant Maxence weren on a time as in Keiseres stude hehest in Rome. Ah Constantin ferde, þurh þe burh-menne reað, into Frone-londe, ant wunede sum hwile þear for þe burh nede: ant Maxence steorede þe refschiþe in Rome. Weox umbe hwile weorre ham bitwene, ant comen to fihte. Was Maxence ouereumen, ant fleah into Alixandre. Constantin walde after ant warpen him þeonne. Ah se wide him wex weorre on euch half, ant nomeliche in a londe Ylirie het<sup>1</sup>, þat tear he atstutte. Ða Maxence herde þis, þat he was of him siker ant of his cume careles. ward king of þat lond, þat lei into Rome, as diden meast alle þe oðre of þe worlde. Bigon anan ase wod wulf to weren hali Chirche, ant drahen Cristene men, þe lut þat ter weren, alle to heaðendom, heaðene as he wes; summe þurh muchele ȝeonen ant misliche meden; sume þurh fearlac of eiful þreates; o last, wið stronge tintrohen ant licomliche pinen.

I þe fif ant þrittuðe ȝer of his rixlinge he set o kine-setle i þe moder-burh of Alexandres-riche, ant sende heast ant bode, se wide se þe lond was, þat poure ba ant riche comen þer toforen him to þe temple i þe tun of hisc heaðene godes; euchan wið his lac, for to wurðschipen<sup>2</sup> ham wið. Comen alle to his bode, ant euch an bi his euene, bifore Maxence self, wurðschipede his maumez. Ðe riche reoderen ant scheop ant bule, hwa se mihte, brohten to lake; þe poure. ewike briddes.

<sup>1</sup> 'Audienti autem Constantinum intra Illyricum sinum bellis undique consurgentibus detineri,' &c. *Latin Legend*. The war between Constantine and Maxentius began A.D. 310, and was terminated

A.D. 312 by the death of Maxentius.

<sup>2</sup> The King's MS. reads 'wurgin' (= wurðigin) *passim*.

In þis burh was wunniende a meiden swiðe ðung of ðeres, two wone of twenti, feir ant freolicly o wlite ant o wastum, ah ðet (þat is mare warð) staðelfest wiðinnen of treowe bileaue; ane kinges, Cost hehte, anlepi dohter; icuret clergesse, KATERINE inempnet. Ðis meiden was baðe faderles ant moderles of hire childhade. Ah, þa ha ðung were, ha held hire eldrene hird wisliche ant warliche i þe heritage ant i þe herd þat com hire of burðe; nawt for þi þat hire þuhte god in hire heorte to habbe monie under hire, ant beon iclepet lafdi, þat feole tellen wel to; ah baðe ha wes offeard of schome ant of sunne, ȝif þeo weren to-dreawed, oðer misferden, þat hire forðfadres hefden ifostret. For hireself, ne kept ha nawt of þe worlde. Ðus lo for hare sake ane dale ha atheld of hire eldrene god, ant spende al þat oðer in nedfule ant in nakede.

Ðeos milde meke meiden, þeos lufsume lafdi, wið lastelese lates, ne luuede ha nane libte plahen, ne nane sotte songes. Nalde ha nane rannes, ne nane luue-runes, leornen ne lustnen<sup>1</sup>; ah eauer ha hefde on hali Writ ehnen oðer heorte, ofttest ba togederes. Hire fader hefde iset hire earliche to lare, ant heo, þurh þe Hali Gast, undernam hit se wel þat nane ne was hire eueniŋ. Modi meistres ant fele fondeden hire ofte o swiðe fele halue, for to undernimen hire; ah nes ter nan þat mihte, wið alle hise crefti crokes, neauer anes wrenchen hire ut of þe weie; ah se sone ha ȝeald ham swuche ȝain-clappes, ant wende hare wiheles upon ham seluen, þat al ha cneowen ham cranant ant ouereumen, ant eweðen hire þe mestrice ant te menske al up.

Ðus hwil ha wiste hire ant þohte ai to witen hire meiden in meidenhad, as ha set in a bur of hire burðe-boldes, þa herde ha a swuch murð toward te awariede maumetes temple, lowinge of þat ahte, ludinge of þa men, gleowinge of euch gleo, to herien ant hersumen hare heaðene godes. As ha þis iherde, ant nuste ȝet hwat hit was, ha sende swiðe for to witen hwat wunder hit were. Sone se hire sonde com aȝain, ant seide hire þe soðe, heo swa itend of wraððe [wes], þat wod ha walde wurðen. Het up of hire hird hwuch as ha walde, ant wende hire þiderward. Ifond ter swiðe feole ȝeinde ant ȝurende, ant þeotinde unþuldelicche wið reowfule reames, þat Cristene weren ant leaffule i Godes lei; ah, for dred of deað, diden þat deoueles lac as þe heaðene diden. Hwa was wurse þen heo heorte iwundet inwið, for þe wreeches þat ha seh swa wraðe workes wurchen aȝain Godes wille? Ðohte þah, as ha wes þuldi ant þelemod, se ðung þing as ha was, hwat hit mihte ȝeinen þah ha hire ane were aȝein so kene Keisere ant al his kinericche. Stod stille ane hwile, ant hef hire heorte up to þe hehe Helend þat iheried is in heuene. Bisohhte him help ant hap ant wisdom, as wisliche as þe world is wealt þurh his wissunge. Ðrafter wepnede hire wið soðe bileaue, ant wrat on hire breoste, bi foren hire teð and hire tunge, þe hali [rode-]taken<sup>2</sup>; ant com leapinde forð, al itend of þe lei of þe Hali Gast, as te Keisar stod biamong þat suneful slaht of þat islein ahte, deoule to lake, þat euch waried weoued of þa mix maumez ron, of þat balefule [blod] al biblodked;—ant bigon to ȝeien ludere steuene:

<sup>1</sup> 'Non illa puellares jocos, non amatoria carmina videre aut audire...' *Latin MS.*

<sup>2</sup> 'Pectus et linguam Christi muniens signaculo.' *Latin MS.*

“Gretunge, Keiser, walde wel bicume þe for þin hehnisse, ȝif þu þis ilke ȝeld, þat tu dost to deulen þat forðeð þe, baðe in licome ant in sawle, ant alle þat hit driuen,—ȝif þu hit ȝulde ant ȝeoue to His wurdmound þat schop þe ant al þe world, and weald þurh his wisdom al þat ischapen is. Ich walde, King, grete þe ȝif þu understode þat He aue is to herien, þurh hwam ant under hwam alle kinges rixlen. Ne ne mai na þing wiðstonden his wille, þah he muche þolie. Des heuenliche Lauerd lueð treowe bileane, ant nowðer blod ne ban of unforgult ahte; ah þat mon halde ant heie his halewende heaste. Ne nis na þing, hwær-þurh monnes muchele madschipe wraððeð him wið mare, þen þat schafte of mon—þat he schop ant ȝef schead ba of god ant of uuel, þurh wit ant þurh wisdom—schal wurdē se forð ut of his wit, þurh þe awariede gast, þat he ȝelt þe wurdeschipe to witlese þing þat te feond wunēd in, þat he ahte to Godd: ant hereð ant hersumeð scheliche schapt blodles ant banles, ant limen wiðute liue, as he schulde his ant heoren ant alre þinge Schuppent, þat is Godd unsehelieli. De feond þat findeð eueh uuel, bimong alle erokinde crefte, wið neauer an ne keceheð he creftluker cang men, ne leadeð to unbileane, þen þat he makeð men, þat ahten to wite wel þat ha beoð biȝetene, iborne, ant ibroht forð, þurh þe heuenliche Fader, to make swuche maumez of treo oðer of stan, oðer þurh mare madschipe of gold oðer of seluer; ant ȝiuē ham misliche nomen of sune, oðer of mone, of wind ant wude ant wattres, ant hersumeð ant wureheð as tah ha godes weren. Ne naueð he þurh oðer þing i þis bileane ibroht ow bote þat ow þunelic þat ha schulen lasten a, for þi þat ȝe ne sehen ham neauer biginnen. Ah þer nis bot a Godd, þurh hwam witerliehe ha alle weren iwahte, ant of nawiht; ant i þis world iset us for to frouren ant for to fremien. And alswa as eueh þing hafde biginninge of his godlee, alswa schulen alle habben endinge. ȝif He þat wulde. Engles ant sawlen, þurh þat ha bigunnen, ahten ant mahten endin þurh eunde; ah He, þurh his milce ant godlee, of his graee makeð ham þat ha beon eche buten ende; ant þerfore nis na þing euening ne eche wið God þat ȝe gremien; for he is hare alre Schuppent, ant scheop ham in sum time, ant na time nes neauer þat he bigon to beon in.”

þe Keiser bistarede hire wið swiðe steape ehnen hwil þat ha spek þus. Swiðe he awundrede him of hire wliht wastum, ant swiðre of hire wordes, ant feng on þus to speken, “Ði leor is, meiden, lufsum, ant ti muð murie ant witti, and wise wordes hit weren, ȝif ha neren false: ah we witen wel þat ure lahes, ure bileane, ant ure lei hefde lahe sprung. Ah al þat ȝe seggen is se sutel sotschipe, þat hit na wis mon, ah witlese, hit weneð. Me hwat is mare madschipe þen for to leuen on him, ant seggen þat he is Godes Sune, þat Giws demden ant headene hongeden? ant þat he was akennet of Marie, a meiden, wiðute bruche of hire bodi? Deide ant was iburied, ant herhede helle; ant aras of deað ant steah into heuene; ant schal eft o domesdei eumen ba to demen þe ewike ant te deade? Hwa walde ileue þis, þat is as nowt wurd? Þat<sup>1</sup> alle ower leasunges beoð unlefliche. Ah ȝet ne þuncheð ow nawt inoh to forleosen ow þus i þulli misbeleane: ah gað ȝet, an

<sup>1</sup> = swa þæt.

seggeð schome bi ure undeaðliche godes, þe sunne ant te mone, þat euch mon ahte her[sumin] ant herien in eorðe."

Þeos meiden lette lutel of al þat he seide, ant smirkende smeðliche ȝef him pullich onswere, "Alle [ich] seo þine sahen sotliche iseide. Clepest þoa þinges godes þat nowðer sturien ne mahen steoren ham seluen, buten as te hehe King hat ham of heuene, ant heo buheð to him as schafte to his Schuppend? Nis buten an Godd, as ich ear seide, þat al þe world wrahte ant alle worldliche þinges, and al wurcheð his wil, bute mon ane. Stille beo þu þenne, ant stew swuche wordes; for ha been al witlese ant windi of wisdom."

Þe Keiser wundrede him swiðe of swuche wordes ant wedinde cweð, "Meiden, ich seo wel (for sutel is ant eð-sene o þine pulliche sahen) þat tu were iset ȝung to leaf ant to lare. Ah of swuche larespel þu haues leaue ileorned, þat tu art þer-onont al to deope leared, hwen þu forewiðest, for þi Godd, ure undeaðliche godes; ant seist ha beoð idele, ant emti of gode. Ah was' tu nu hwat is? We schulen bringen to ende þat we bigunnen habbeð, ant tu schalt, þu motild, to curt eumen siðen, ant kine-mede kepe, ȝif þu wilt þi wil wenden to ure; for ȝif hit went again us, ne schal þe na tene ne tintreohe trukie." Ða he þus hefde iseid, clepede an of hise men dearneliche to him, ant sende iseaðele writes wið his ahne kine-ring ȝont al his kineriche to alle þe icudde clerkes<sup>1</sup>, and het ham hiben toward him hare come swiðe; ant swa muchel þe swiðre, þat he biliet to meden ham wið swiðe hehe mede, ant maken [ham] hehest in his halle, ȝif ha þeos modi motild ouercome mihten, ant wenden þe hokeres of his heaðene godes upon hire heaued: þat ha were on alre earst iken ant ienawen, þat nis bute dusilec al þat ha driueð; ant þrefter þenne fordon [hire] ant forðemet ȝif ha nalde leauen þat ha ȝet lefde, ant hare lahe luuien. Ðes sonde wende him forð, as te King hehte; þat held on to herien his heaðene maumez wið misliche lakes long time of þe dai, þat he idon hefde; ant wende þa veri toward his buri-boldes, ant bed bringen anan þis meiden biforen him, ant seide to hire þus:

"Nat ich nowðer þi nome, ne ich ne enawe þi eun, ne hwucehe men þu hauest haueð hiderto to meistres. Ah þi schene nebschaft ant ti semliche schape schaweð wel þat tu art freo-monne foster; ant ti swuti speche walde of wisdom ant of wit bere þe witnesse, ȝif þu ne misnome onont ure maumez. þat tu se muchel misseist, ant ure godes hokerest; þat schuldest, as we doð, heien ham ant herien."

Ha him onswerede ant seide, "ȝif þu wilt mi nome witen, ich am KATERINE icleopet; ȝif þu wilt enawe mi eun, ich am Kinges dohter; Cosr hehte my fader; ant haue ihaued hiderto swiðe hehe meistres. Ah for þi þat te lare þat ha me lerdn limpeð to idel ȝelp, ant falleð to biȝeate ant to wurðschipe of þe worlde, ne ne helpeð nawiht eche lif to habben, ne ȝelp ich nawt prof. Ah sone se ich seh þe leome of þe soðe lare þat leaðeð to eche lif, ich leafde al þat oðer, ant tok me him to Lauerd, ant makede him mi leaf-mon, þat þis word seide þurh an of his witeȝen. 'Perdam

<sup>1</sup> 'Ad omnes rhetores et grammaticos et quibus in doctrina fama celebrior nomen adquisierat.' *Latin MS.*

*sapientiam sapientum, et intellectum intelligentium reprobabo;*’ [pat is] ‘Ich ‘ulle fordon þe wisdom of þeose wise world-men.’ he seið, ‘ant awarpe þe wit of þeos world-wittie.’ Ieh herde eft þis word of anoder wittige, ‘*Deus autem noster in celo: omnia quaecunque voluit fecit. Simulacra gentium argentum et aurum*’, usque ad ‘*similes illis fiunt:*’ [pat is] ‘Vre Godd is in heuene þat wurched al þat he wile. Deos maunnez beon imaket of gold ant of seluer, wið monnes honden:—muð wiðute speche, ehnen wiðute siliðe, earen wiðuten heringe, honden bute felinge, fet bute zonge. Deo þat ham makien mote beon ilich ham, ant alle þat on ham trusten!’ Ah nu þu seiðt þat ha beoð al-wealdende godes, ant wult þat ich do ham wurðschipe. Scheaw sumhwat of ham for hwi ha beon wurðe for to beon iwurðchet: for ear nul ich nowðer ham heien ne herien.”

“Nat ich hwuch þi þoht beo.” quoð þe King Maxence, “ah wordes þu haues inohe: ah þole nu ane hwile ant tu schalt ifinden hwa þe onswerie.”

Þes sondes-mon, umbe long, þa he hefde al þat lond ouergan ant þurh-soht. com ant brohte wið him fifti seolemaistres, of alle þe ereftes þat clerke ah to cunnen, ant in alle wittes of worldliehe wisdomes wiseste o worlde. Ðe King was swiðe wel iewemet, ant walde witen zif ha weren se wise ant se witti as men forwende. And ha somen seiden þat wittiest ha weren of alle þe meistres þat weren in East-londe; ant heaued of þe hehste ant meast nome-euðe ieud of alle elergies. “Ah þu,” eweaðen ha, “[Keiser, ahest to euðen], for hwat iend þing þu hete us hider to eumen!” Ant he ham onswerede, “Her is a meiden, zungling of zeres, ah se swiðe witti ant wis on hire wordes, þat ha wið hire anes mot meistred us alle. Ah zet me teneð mare þat ha tukeð ure godes to balewe ant to bismere, ant seið hit beon deouelen þat in ham dearieð. Ieh mihte inoh raðe wel habben awealt hire, zet ha nalde wið lunc, wið luðer eie lanhure. Ah zet me þuncheð betere þat ha beo ear onercumen wið desputinge; ant zif ha þa zet wule, þen ha wat hire woh, wiðstonden aȝain us, ich hire wile don to þe derueste deað þat me mai hire demen, ant wið kinewurðe mede zelden ou hehliche ower gong hider. zif ze aȝain willeð; oðer, zif ou is wilre for to wunnie wið me, ze schulen beo mine reaðes-men in alle mine dearne runes ant mine dearne deades.” Ða onswerede þe an swiðe prudliche þus to þe prude Princee, “Hei! hwuch wis read of se cointe Keiser, makie se monie elerkes to eumen, ant se swiðe ereft of alle elergies. ut of Alexandres-lond þe alre laste ende, to moten wið a meiden! Me an mahte of ure men wið his mot meistren, ant wið his anes wit awarpen, þe alre wiseste þe wuneð bi Westen. Ah, hwuch se ha eauer beo, let bringen hire forð, þat ha understonde þat ha ne stod neauer, ear þen þis dai, bute bifore dusie.”

Þis meiden was bieluset þe hwile in ewarterne ant in ewalm-hus. Com a sonde ant seide hire, þat ha schulde eumen forð to fehten in þe marhen, ane aȝein fifti. Nes tis meiden nawilt þefore inuenget in hire mod inwið; ah, buten eueh fearlae, bitahte all hire feht in hire Healendes hond, ant bigon to him to bidden þes bone:

<sup>1</sup> ‘*Simulacra gentium argentum et aurum, opera manuum hominum. Os habent et non loquuntur.*’ etc., ‘*usque qui confidunt in eis.*’ *Latin MS.*

“Crist, Godd, Godes Sune! swete softe Jesu, alre smelle swotest! þu al-wealdende Godd! þi Faderes wisdom! þu þat tahtes þine, þat ha ne schulden nowðer diueren ne dreden, for teone, ne for tintrehe, ne for na worldlich wondreaðe; ah wearnedes ham wel hu men ham walde þreaten ant leaden unlacheliche, ant elnedes ham swa þat ham was eað to drehen al þat men duden ham, ant al þat ha drehden, for þi deore luue, deorewurðe Lauerd!—ant seidest þe seluen, ‘*Dum steteritis ante reges et presides nolite cogitari*’<sup>1</sup>, ‘Hwen ȝe stondeð bifore kinges ant eorles, ne þenche ȝe neauer hwat ne hu ȝe schulen seggen; for ich wule ȝiuen ow ba tunge ant tale, þat an ne schal of alle ower wiðer-wines witen hwat he warpe a word aȝain ow.’ Lauerd, wune wið me, ant hald þat tu bibet us; ant sette, Jesu, swuche sahen i mi muð to-marhen, ant ȝif swuche mihte ant strengðe i mine wordes, þat heo þat beoð icumene aȝaines ti deore nome to underneome me, moten misse prof. Aweald, þurh þi wisdom, hare worldliche wit; ant þurh þi muclele mihte meistre ham swa þat ha been mid alle istewet ant stille; oðer iwente to þe ant ti nome wurdchen, þat wið Godd Fader, ant wið þe Hali Gast, þurh-wunest in alre worlde world, a on ecesse.”

Nefde ha bute iseid swa, þat an engel ne come lihtende wið swuche leome fram heuene, þat ha was sum del offruht ant offeared; for al þe ewarterne of his cume leitede o leie. Ah þe engel elnede hire, ant sweteliche seide, “Ne beo þu nawiht ofldred, Drihtines dohter; hald hardiliche o þat tu haues bigunnen, for þi lef-mon ant ti Lauerd, for hwas deorewurðe nome þu underneome þis strif, is wiðe þe cauerihwer, i stude ant i stalle, þat wel wile wite þe. He bihat te þat he wile i þi muð healden flowinde wattres of witti wordes, þat schulen þe flit of þine fan swiftliche afellen; ant swuch wonder ham schal punchen of þi wisdom, þat ha willeð alle wenden to Criste, ant cume þurh martirdom to Drihten in heauene. Monie schulen turnen to treowe bileaue þurh hare forbisne; ant tu schalt sone atstirten al þe strengðe of þis strif, þurh a stalewurðe deað, ant beo þenne underfon i þe feire ferreden ant i þe murie of meidnes; ant libbe liues ende wið Jesu Crist, ti Lauerd ant ti lef-mon in heuene. Ich hit am Mihel, Godes heh-engel, ant of heuene isende for to seggen þe þis.” And mid þat ilke step up ant steah to þe steoren.

Þis meiden þat ich munne stod, þurh þis steuene starcliche istrengðet; ant abad baldeliche til þat men com ant fatte hire to fliten. wið þe fifti. Maxence, in þe marhen, set i kine-seotle, ant bed bringen biforen him þeos modie moteres, and te meiden mid ham. Heo, wið Cristes cros cruchede hire ouer al, ant com baldeliche biforen þeos feondes an foster, ant aȝain þes fifti alle ferliche frechen. Comen alle strikinde, þe strengeste swiðest, of eaue-euch strete for to heren þis strif. Stoden on an half þes meistres so monie, and unimet modi; þis meiden on oðer half. Heo bihelden hire hokerliche alle; ant heo stod herenende ant biheold after help up toward heuene. Ðe King bigon to wraððen þat te dei eode awai, ant heo ne diden nawiht; ant te eadie KATERINE bigon for to segge:

“þu,” cweð ha, “Keiser, nauest nawt þis strif rihtwisliche idelet, þat dest

<sup>1</sup> The Latin is given at length in *Latin MS.*

fifti meistres to moten wið a meiden; ant hanest ham bihten, 3if ha mahen on me þe herre hond habben, kinewurde meden; ant me nawiht under al, þat moti (a meiden) a3ain ham alle. Ah ne drede ich nawiht þat mi Lauerd mule wel 3elde me mi hwile, for hwas nome ich underneome to fihten o þis wise. Ah 3ette me an hwat þat tu ne maht nawt wearne wið rihte; 3if me is ileued þurh lene Lauerd, for to leggen ham adun, þat tu þi misbileauc lete þenne lanhure ant lihte to ure." "Nai," quod he heterliche as þe þat hoker pulhte, "ne lið [hit] nawt to þe to leggen lahe upo me of [mine] bileauc; beo ha duhti oðer dusi. naue þu nawt to donne: do nu þat tu schalt don, ant we schule lustniu hu þi Lauerd ant ti lef, þat al þi leauc is upon, wule werie to-dai þine leasunges."

Þis meiden, mid þat ilke, lokede on oðer half, ant lette him iwurðen; ant tok on toward þe fif side tene to talien, o þise wise: "Nu 3e alles to strif beon istured hidere, for to beon wið gold ant gersum igrette; ant se feole eude men, ba ant uteumene, copnið ant kepeð hwuch ure is kempe to ouercumen oðer; lure ow is to leosen ower swinkes lan, þat leoteð se lutel of, [ant] sparieð oure speeche; ant sehome ow is to schuderen lengre under schelde, ant schunien þat 3e schulen to. Scheoteð forð sum word ant let us onswerien, þat meast kempe is eud, ant kenest of ow alle of þe creft; þeo þat nome-euðest is ant meast con, eume, eude þrof, ant þat haueð in heorte (nu we schulen talien take out of his tunge) ant teuele wið me<sup>1</sup>." "Nai," quod þe euðest of ham alle, "ah nu we beoð of se feor for þe iflut hider, þu schalt sette sikel forð, ant seggen earst hwat tu wult, ant we shulen seoðen."

"Ich," quod þe meiden<sup>2</sup>, "sone se ich awai warp ower witlese lei, ant leornede ant luuede þe lifful leaue of hali Cherehe þat [ich] icheosen hadde, ich aweorþ wið alle þe glistinde wordes þat beon in oure bokes. þat beon wiðte godlice ant empti wiðinnen, þat 3e beon wið to-swollen, nawt wið wit ah wið wind of ane wlonke wordes,—þat þuncheð se greate, ant beð godlese þah, ant bare of euch blisse, þah 3e blissen ou þrof. Low! pullich is al þat 3e þenchen to dai for to weore me wið. Homeres motes ant Aristotles turnes, Esculapies crefstes ant Galienes grapes, Philistiones flites ant Platunes bokes, ant alle þeos writers writes þat 3e wreoðieð ow on. Ðah ich beo in alle of se earlich ilearet, þat ich ne fond nawt fele neauer mine euening, ah (for þi þat ha beoð ful of idel 3elp ant empti of þat eadi ant lifful lare) al ich forsake her, ant eweðe ham alle sker up, ant segge þat I ne conne ne enawe na creft bute of an, þat is soð wit

<sup>1</sup> There seems some disorder here: we should probably read: 'þeo þat nome-euðest is ant meast con, ant þat haueð in heorte, eume eude þrof, ant teueli wið me ('match himself with me')—nu we schulen talien take ut of his tunge.' The Latin is more brief: 'Si quis est in vobis ab Attica eloquentia preditus, ab Latina oratione imbutus, proferat in medio quod animo concepit.'

<sup>2</sup> The Latin is less diffuse: "Ego vero, inquit puella, postquam deposito gentilitatis errore Christi sacramentis iniciata sum, robustas et fucio plenas

verborum dictiones quibus vos fultos ad instantem pugnam video occurrere; has, inquam, dictiones penitus abjeci, philosophicas Homeri dissertationes et Aristotelicas circumplectentes silogismos, Esculapii quoque et Galieni sagacissimas latentium rerum inventiones, sed et *Philistionis* cum Platone ceterorumque famosa auctorum volumina reprobavi." We learn from Suidas that *Philistio* was a contemporary of Socrates. The mention of his name in the Legend indicates its Greek origin.



ant wisdom, ant Heore of eche heale þat him riht leueð,—þat is, Iesu Crist, mi Lauerd ant mi lef-mon, þat seide, as ich seide ear ant ȝet wile seggen, '*Perdam sapientiam sapientum et intellectum*,' etc. 'Ich 'ulle fordon þe wisdom of þeose world-men ant awarpe þe wit of þeose world-wittie.' Des alre schafte Schuppenn schawde ure earste ealdren, Adam ant Eue, þe wit ant te wei of lif, þurh halewende hest, ant hefde ham bihten, ȝif ha ham wel helden, heuenliche meden. Ah þe wrenchfule feond þurh onde wið wiles wearp ham ut sone of Paraise selhðe into þis liflease lif. And al þat lihte of ham twa schulde forleosen, ȝif þat Godes golleic nere þe mare, þat se muche luede us, þah þe luðere, [þat he] lihte nu leate of heuenliche leomen, ant for þi þat he is to ure sihðe unschelich in his ahne cunde, eom ant creap in ure, for to beon ische þrin, ant nam blod ant ban of [a] meidenes bodi. Ðus he schrudde ant hudde him, alre þinge Schuppenn, wið ure fleschliche schrud, ant scheande us his nebsehaft, ant wele, hwil his wille was, bimong worldliche men, ant ta he hefde arud us of þe feondes rake[tehen], he wende up, as he walde, to wunien þer he wuneð ai wiðute wanunge. Swa þat we wite wel (þurh wundres þat he wrahte, þat na mon ne mihte) þat he is soð Godd; ant eft, þurh þat he þrowede, ant þolede deað o rode, as deadliche mon, þat he is soð mon: of his Fader soð Godd, of his moder soð mon, in anhad ba somen, soð mon ant soð Godd, wealdinde ant wissinde alle worldliche þing after his wille. Ðis is te Lauerd þat [ich] on leue: þis is al þe lare þat ich nu leornu: þis is þat i þis strif schal strengðen me aȝain ow. In his hali nome I schal leote lihtliche of al þat ȝe cunnen kasten aȝain me, ne beo ȝe se monie: for nis him na derure for to adwescen adun fele þen feawe, bifore þeo þat him riht leueð ant luueð."

Ant, for ham alle, onswerede ant seide, "ȝif he was, as tu seist, soð Godd ant Godes sune, hu mihte he as mon deadlich deien? ȝif he was mon, hu mihte he deað ouercumen? Alle wise witen wel, þat hit is aȝein riht ant aȝein leane of euch cundelich lahe, þat Godd, þat is undeadlich, mahe deað drehen; ant deadlich mon mahe deað ouereumen; ant tah hit mihte nu beo þat he baðe were, soð Godd ant soð mon, after þat tu munnest, an he mihte inoh raðe don of þes twa þinges; ah ba somen, nanes weis."

Heo ne sohte nawiht, ah seide aȝain anan riht, "Ðis is nu þe derfshippe of þi dusie onswere ant te depnisse, þat tu of þat þing þat te misþuncheð underfes þat an half, ant dustes adun þat oðer, þe godeundesse of Godd for mannesse of his manhad; as þah þe Almihti ne mihte nawt þeos twa misliche cundes gederen togederes. Ȝe [ne] makede he mon of lam to his ilienesse? Hwi schulde he forholien to wuðe to þat þing þat is iwent upon him? And hwen he hit mahte don buten ewt to leosen of hehnesse, hwi were hit him earfð to don, þe þat alle þing mei ant wile al þat god is,—to neome monnes cunde ant beo ische soð mon, Godd þah unschelich in his ahne cunde; ant þolien as soð mon deað, hwen him þuhte? Ah ȝif þu wilt siker beon þat soð beo þat I segge, leaf þi lease wit þat tu wlenches te in, ant liht to ure lare; þat tu mahe stihen to understonðen in him Godes muchele strengðe, ant na monnes mihte, þurh hise wundri

<sup>1</sup> The Latin adds '*intelligentium reprobabo*.'



werkes ant wurðfule, in corðe; for nul tu wenne nawt þat tu schuldes heien, [ne] heane na mare, þat is in soð Godd mones unmihte; þat he noðeles nom upon him seluen us for to saunen, ant makien us stronge þurh his unstrengðe?—His unstrengðe I elepie, þat he was, as mon, cundeliche of-hungret ant weri, ant þine mihte þolien. In eueh þing of þe world beoð sutele ant eð-sene, þat þolien of Godes wisdom; þah i þis an þing he scheaude, ant sutelede inoh, þat he was soð Godd, þat leadeð eueh leafful mon to treow bileaue, ant his leoue nome to herien ant to heien, þat he wið his steuene þe storuene arearde, ant wið his word awahte þe lifese liches to lif ant to loome. Dis ne dide neauer na deadliche mon þurh his alne mihte, ȝif he Godd nere. Opre, þurh wileles ant wiccheereftes, wureð sume wundres, ant biȝuleð unwiten, þat weneð þat hit beo swa as hit on che bereð ham. Ah wes þurh þat ho wes soð Godd, in his cunde icuþlet wið ure, arearde þe deade, þe dumbe ant te deaue, botnede blinde, healede halte ant houere, ant eueh unheale; ant draf of þe awedde awariede wiltes; ant as al-wealdent wrahte her o worlde al þat he walde. And ȝif þu nult nanes weis witen þat he wrahte þulliche wundres, lef lanhure þat tu sest,—miracles þat beð maked ȝet þurh him, ant on his deorewurðe nome, daies ant nihtes. Ah beo nu soð; enawes, ȝif ich riht segge. Du seist he ne mihte nawt ba beo Godd ant mon; ah ȝif he nere soð Godd ant undeadlich himself, hu mihte he leanen lif to þe deade? And ȝif he nere soð mon, hu mihte he drehen þat he droh, ant deien se derffulliche? Þurh þis. suteleð soð al þat ich segge; ant þat he is Godd self þat duste deað under him þurh þat he is Drihtin meiful ant almihti. And þe ilke self in Godes sune, þat (onont þat he Godd was) ne mahte drehe na deað, ant þah deide, ah fleschliche. For ba he underfeng ban ant flesch of ure cunde þat is bruchel ant deadlich, for to deien in hire; for þi þat he was undeadlich in his alne, ne in hire ne mahte nanes weis deien wiðuten ure. Des soðe Godd ant Godes sune, þat deide onont ure cunde þat he hefde, aras ant arearde himself fram deaðe; for þah he were deadlich, þurh þat he mon was. onont his mannesse, ant deide (as ich seide), he ne losede na lif, onont þat he Godd was, ne undeadlichnesse, onont his drihtnesse; ah was eaner, ant is, Drihtin undeadlich. Ðus ido dede, deað ne acaste nawt Crist, ah Crist ouerecom deað ant sloh hire in him seluen<sup>1</sup>."

Alle þe oðre herceneden wið swiðe opene earen, ah her-to onswerede an for ham alle: "ȝif Drihtin, þat dearede in ure monnesse, wrahte þeos wundres, as þu wilt þat we leuen, hwi walde he þrowin as he dude, ant þolie deað o rode, hwen he com to arudden of deaðes rake[tehen] opre? Hwi deide he him seluen, ant hu mihte he helpen [oðre], ant beo biforen oðre, þat þurh-ferde deað ase wel as he doð? Hefde he, lanhure, him seluen alesed, sum walde hopen ant habbe bileaue to his alesunge."

"Ȝet," quod þis meiden, ant seide him to-ȝaines, "ich habbe unenut summe of þeose enottes, ȝif þu hit wult ienawen. Ah her þu weneest ȝette, þat tu ne wene þarf. þat Godd þat is unþrowlich, þrowde oðer þolede þine oðer passiun o þe

<sup>1</sup> The Translator at this point omits several sentences, in which (according to the Latin Legend) St Catharine adduces the testimony of Plato and the Sybilline verses, in support of her argument.

deore rode, onont þat he Godd was, oðer deað drehde. Ne mahte (þat wite þu) his heuenliche cunde, o nanes cunnes wise, fele nowðer sar ne sorhe upe þe cruche; ah al þe weane ant te wa wente upo þe unstrengðe of þat underue flesch, þat he noðeles nam wið al ure nowcin, bute sunne ane, upon him seoluen. O Godd þat is al-freo ne mai nan uel festnen; ne mihte mon nowðer godd, onont þat he Godd was, beaten ne binden, ne nimen zet, for he is unneomelich. Ah þurh þe mon þat he was ischrud ant ihud wið, he bicherde þene feond ant schrencte þen alde deouel, ant te-schrapet his heaued. Nes nawt iteiet to þe treo þer he deide upon for to drehen cawt, bute flesch-timber. Ah swa he wiðute woh adweschde ant adun-weorp þe wiðer-wine of helle, mon i monnes cunde, þat wið woh hefde to deað idrahen moncun þurh deadliche sunne. Dus was (as ich munne) mon ant nawt Godes drihtnesse, þurh-driuen o þe rode, þah he i þat ilke pine soð Godd were. Ah mon, for mon þat mislide, þolede dom ant deide; ant Godd, i mon for monnes bruche, bette ant eode o bote, as his ahne godleic lahede hit ant lokede. Low! þis makede him þat he underfeng mon (þat is, bicom mon), þat tat þe hefde aȝain him ibroken were ibet þurh mon, ant þat he arisede eft fram deaðe to liue þat ne dredeð na deað; þurh hwam we mahen hane sikere bileaue to arisen alle after. Eað were ure Lauerd, liuiende Godes Sune, to awarpen his unwine, ant reauen him his honde-were, þat he wið woh atheld, on ewe wise i þe world þat he eauer wakde,—wið anlepi word, ȝea wið his an wil,—ah þe witti Wealdent ant te rihtwise, biradde hit swa swiðe wel, þat he þat ouercom mon were akast þur mon wið mekeleic ant luste, nawt wið luðer strengðe; þat he ne mihte nanes wise meanen him of wohe.”

Hwils þeos eadi meiden motede ant mealde þus, ant muchele mare, þat an modieste of ham þat mealde to-ȝain hire warð swa awundred of hire witti wordes, ant swa offeared ant offrucht, ant alle hise feren, þat nefde hare nan tunge to taelin a dint [wið]. Se swiðe Godes grace agaste ant agide ham, þat euch an biheold oðer as he bidweold were; þat nan ne seide na þing ah seten stille ase stan: ewich ne eweð þer newar an. Þes Keiser bigapede ham as mon þat bigon to weden ant to wurðen ut of his ahne wit: wodeliche seide, “Hwat nu, unwreaste men, ant waere þen eni wake! of deaðe ant of dul wit! Nu is owre stunde! Hwi studize ȝe nu, ant steuenteð se stille! Nabbe ȝe teð ba ant tunge to sturien? Is nu se storliche unstrengðet ower strengðe, ant ower wit awealt, swa þat te mihte ant te mot of ane se meke meiden schal meistren ow alle? Me ȝif fifti wimmen, ant tah þer ma weren, hefden wið word ower an awarpen, nere hit schendlac inoh ant schir schome to alle þat ȝelpeð of lare? Nu is alre schome meast, þat an anlepi meiden, wið hire anes muð haueð swa bitenelet, itemed, ant iteied (alle itald bi tale) fif siðe tene icudde ant icorene ant of ferrene ifat, þat al ȝe beon blodles ikimet, of ow seleuen. Hwider is ower wit ant ower wisdom iwent? Brekeð on for bismere, ant biginneð sumhwat!”

Onswerede þa þat an þat te oðre helden for hehste ant heaued of ham alle, ant eweð to þe kinge: “An hwat ich ’ulle þat tu wite, þat we habbeð witnessce

<sup>1</sup> “Quid vos, ignavi et degeneres, habitatis sensibus, sic commutescitis?” *Latin MS.*

of alle þe wise þat beon in East-londe, þat neauer aȝet þis dai ne funde we nohwer nan se deop ilearet þat durste sputi wið us; ant ȝif he come i place, nere he neauer se prud, þat he ne talde him al tom<sup>1</sup>, ear he turnde fram us. Ah nis nawt lîhtlich of þis meidenes mot; for [ȝif] ich soð schal seggen, in hire ne motes na mon. For nawt nis hit monlich mot þat ha mealed, ne nis heo þat haueð mot; ah is an heuenlich gast in hire swa aȝain us, þat we ne cunnen. ne (þah we eudē) we nullen, ne ne duren, warpen na word aȝain to weorren ne to wraðden him þat ha treoweð on. For sone se ha Crist clepede ant his nome nempede ant te muchele mihtes of his hehness, ant schawde seoden sutteliche of þe deopeschipe ant te dearne run of his deað o rode<sup>2</sup>, al wat awai ure worldliche wit, swa we weren adredde of his drihtnesse. And tat we kennið þe wel, keiser, ant eudeð. þat we leauð þi lahe ant al þi bileaue, ant turnen alle to Crist. Ant her we enawlecheð him soð Godd ant Godes Sune, þat se muche godlice eudde us alle on corde, þat woh haueð eni mon to weorren him mare. Ðis we schaweð þe; nu sei þat tu wilt."

Þe keiser kaste his heaued, as wod mon, of wraððe, ant bearninde al as he was of grome ant of teone, bed bringen o brune a fur amidde þe burh; ant ba binden ham swa þe fet ant te honden þat ha wrungen aȝain: ant i þe reade leie ant i þe leitende fur, het warpen euch fot. As men droh ham to hare deað, þa ȝeide þus þat an, ant elnede þe oðre: "O leue feren, feire is us ifallen. Ah ȝet we forȝeted us. nu þe deore Drihtin arcaw us, ant toc read to ure alde dusischipes þat we driuen longe; ant haueð adiht us to dei to drehe þis deað þurh his milde milce, þat we forlose þis lif for his leue luue, i trewe bileaue, ant i þe enawlechinge of his kinewurde nome. Hwi ne hihe we for to beon ifulhtnet. as he het hise, ear we faren henne?"

As he iscide hefele, bisohten (as ha stoden) alle in a steuene, þat tes meiden moste, i þe wurðschipe of Godd. wið halebende wattres bileolden ham alle. Ah heo ham onswerede ant swoteliche seide, "Ne drede ȝe ow nawiht, enihtes icorene, for ȝe schulen beon ifulhtnet ant beten alle owre bruchen, þat ȝe ibroken habbeð, in owre blodes rune; ant tis ferliche fur schal lîhten in ow þe halwende lei of þe Hali Gast<sup>3</sup>, þat i furene tungen ontendede þe apostles." Men warp ham mid tis ilke word amidde þe leie. Ðer ha heuen up hare honden to heuene; ant swa, some readliche, þurh seli martirdom ferdē. wið murhðe icrunet, to Criste, o þe þritude dei of Nouembres moneð. Ah þat was miracle muchel, þat nowder nes iwemmet clað þat ha hefden, ne hear of hare heaued. Ah wið se swiðe lufsume leores ha leien, se rudie ant se reade ilitet eauer-euch leor, as lilie ileid to rose, þat nawiht ne þuhte hit þat ha weren deade, ah þat ha slepten swoteliche o sweouete; swa þat fele turnden to treowe bileaue ant þoleden anan deað i þe nome of Drihtin. Comen Cristene a-niht ant nome hare bodies, ant biburiden ham dearnliche, as hit deh Drihtines enihtes.

<sup>1</sup> "Si autem jactantius conserere verba præsumpsit, continuo victus et confusus recessit." *Latin MS.*

<sup>2</sup> "Crucis ipsius mysterium." *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> "De baptismo solliciti ne sitis; erit vobis salutaris baptismus sanguinis vestri perfusio, et ignis iste cruciatorius flammæum ignem Spiritus Sancti vobis infert." *Ibid.*

þah þis was idon þus, het eft þe keiser þat men schulde KATERINE bringen biforen him, ant tus to hire clepede: "O mihti meiden! O witti wummon, wurð-mund ant alle wurðschipe wurðe! O schene nebschaft, ant schape se swiðe semliche, þat schulde beo se prudliche ischrud ant iprud wið þel ant wið purpre! Nim ȝeme of þi ȝuheðe: arewe þi wlite; ant nim read, seli meiden, to þe seluen. Ga ant gret ure godes, þat tu igremed hauest, ant tu schalt, after þe ewen, eauer þe oðer beon in halle ant i bure: ant al ich wule dihten þe domen of mi kinedom after þat tu demest. Ant ȝet I segge mare: ich 'ulle lete makien þe of gold an ymage as ewen icrunet; ant swa man schal amid te burh setten hit on heh up: þrafter men schal beoden ant bodien hit ouer al, þat alle þat ter bi-gað greten hit o þi nome, ant buhe þer-toward, alle þe to wurðmund, burhmen ant oðre. On ende, þu schalt habben hehliche, as an of ure heuenliche lafdis, of marbre stan a temple, þat schal ai stonden, hwil þat te worlde stont, to witnesse of þi wurðmund."

KATERINE onswerede, snirkinde sum del, ant cweð to þe kinge, "Feire uleð þi muð, ant murie þu makest hit. Ah ich drede þat tis dream drahtie toward deað, as deð mereminnes. Ah al þe helpeð an þin olhtnunge ant tin eie. Ful wel ich 'ulle þat tu wite, ne mah tu wið na þing wende min herte fram Him þat ich heie ant ai wule herien. Bihat al þat tu wult; þreap þrafter inoh, ant þreate þat tu beo weri; ne mei me wunne, ne wele, ne na weorlde wurðschipe, ne mei me nowðer tene, ne tintrehe, turnen fra mi lef-mones huue, þat ich on leue<sup>1</sup>. He haueð iwedded him to mi meidenhad wið þe ringe of rihte bileane, ant ich habbe to him trelweliche itake me. Swa we beoð ifestned ant iteiet in an, ant swa þe enot is icnut bituhen us twiecn, þat ne mei hit luste, ne luðer strengðe nowðer, of na liuiende mon leosen ne leðien. He is mi lif ant mi huue, and he is þat gladið me; mi soðe blisse buue me, mi wele ant mi wunne; ne nawt ne wilne ich elles. Mi swete lif, se softeliche he smeccheð me ant smelleð, þat al me þuncheð saure ant softe þat he sent me. Stute þu þenne, ant stew þe, ant stille þine wordes, for ha beoð me unwurð: þat wite þu to wisse."

þe king ne cuðe nawit, ah bigon to cwakien, ant nuste hwat seggen. Het, o wode wise, strupen hire steorc naket, ant beaten hire bare flesch ant hire freliche bodi wið enotte schurgen<sup>2</sup>. Ant swa men dide sone þat hire leflich lich liðerede al o blode; ah heo hit liltliche a-ber ant lahinde þolede. Het hire þrafter kasten i cwaln-hus, ant bed halden hire þrin; þat ha nowðer ne ete, lasse ne mare, twelf daies fulla.

Bicom þat te King Maxence moste faren, ant ferde into þe ferreste ende of Alixandre. De qwen, Auguste, longede for to seon þis meiden Katerine; ant clepede to hire Porphire, cnihtene prince, ant seide him a sweuen þat hire was ischeawed; þat ha sch sitten þis meiden wið monie hwite wurðliche men ant meidenes inohe abute biset<sup>3</sup>; ant heo was hire self þer-imong, as hire þuhte, ant

<sup>1</sup> The remainder of the speech is an expansion of the following Latin: 'Christus me sibi sponsam adoptavit; ego me Christo sponsam indissociabili federe coaptavi. Ille gloria mea, ille generositas mea, ille amor meus, ille dulcedo et dilectio mea.' A reply of Maxentius and a rejoinder of St Catha-

rine are then added in the Latin, but they have dropped out in the translation.

<sup>2</sup> 'expoliatam scorpionibus cedi.' *Latin MS.*

<sup>3</sup> The Latin is 'puellam intra septa domicilii sedentem inestimabili claritate circumfultam, et viros dealbatos circumsecentes.'

te an toc a guldene crune, ant sette upon hire heaved, ant seide to hire þus: "Haue, Cwen, a crune isend te of heouene." And for þi ha seide hire luste swiðe ȝeorne speke wið þis meiden. Porphire ȝettede al þat ha ȝernede, ant leaðde hire, i þe niht, anan to þe ewarterne. Ah swuch leome ant liht leitede þrin, þat ne mihten ha nawt loken þer-aȝaines; ah felle ba for fearlae dun dunel-rihtes. Ah an se swiðe swote smal com anan þrefter, þat fleide awei þat fearlae ant frourede ham sone<sup>1</sup>. "Ariseð," quod KATERINE, "ne drede ȝe nawiht, for þe deore Drihtin haueð idiht ow ba þe blissfule crune of hise icorene." Ða ha weren iseten up, sehen as te engles<sup>2</sup> wið snirles of aromaz smereden hire wundes ant bi-eoden swa þe bruches of hire bodi, al to-broken of þe beatinge, þat te flesch ant te fel wurden swa feire, þat ha awundreden ham swiðe of þat sihðe. As tis meiden bigon to bealden ham baðe, ant to þe Cwen seide, "Cwen, icoren of Iesu Crist, beo nu stalewnrðe, for þu schalt stihe bifore me to Drihtin in henene. Ne beo þu nawiht offruht for pinen, þat fareð forð in an hondhwile; for wið swuche þu schalt biȝeten ant buggen þe endelese blissen. Ne dred tn nawt to leosen þin eorðliche luercd for Iesu Crist, þat is King of þat eehe kinedom; þat ȝeld, for þe false wurd-schipe of þis world, heuene-riches wunne: for þing þat sone alið, wele þat ai lasteð."

Feng þa Porphire to freinen þis meiden hwueche were þe meden ant te endelese lif, þat Godd haueð ileaned his leue icorene, for þe luren [of] tis worldliche lif, þat ha leoseð for þe luue of rihte bileaue. Heo onswerede ant seide, "Beo nu þenne, Porphire, stille, ant understond me<sup>3</sup>. Cons' tu bulden a burh inwið i þin heorte, al abute bituined wið a derewurðe wal, schinende ant schenre þen ȝim-stanes, steapre þen eni stoorre; ant euch bold þrinwið briht as hit bearninde were, ant leitinde al o leie<sup>4</sup>; ant al þat ter-in is glistinde ant gleaminde, as hit were seluer oðer gold smeðe; istanet euch strete wið deorewurðe stanes of mislich heowes, imenget to-gederes, ant isliket ant ismedet as eni glas smeðest, wiðnte sloh ant slec, eaner iliche sumerliche; ant alle þe burhmen seuensiðe brihtre þen beo þe sunne, glewinde of euch gleo ant ai mare iliche glade?—for nawiht ne derueð ham, nawiht ne wonteð ham of al þat ha wilneð, oðer mahen wilnen. Alle singende somen. ase lif leui euch an wið oðer; alle pleiende somen, alle lahinde somen. eauer iliche lusti bnte blinnunge; for þer is a liht ant a leitende leome. Ne niht nis ter neauer, ne neauer na nowein; ne eileð þer na mon, nowðer sorhe ne sar, nowðer heate ne chele, nowðer hnnger ne þrust, ne nan of-þunchinge: for nis ter nawt bittres, ah al is swete-wil, swottre ant swottre þen eauer eni hali-wei, i þat heuenliche lond, i þat endlese lif, i þe wnnnen ant te weolen þurh-wuniende: ant monie ma murhðen þen alle men mihten wið hare muð mnnnen ant tellen wið tungen, þah ha ai talden: ne neauer ne blunneð nowðer ne lasseð, ah lasteð ai mare, se lengre se mare. ȝif

<sup>1</sup> "Cujus ex fulgore perterriti corruerunt in terram. Mox inestimabilis odor suauitatis naribus infusus ad spem meliorem eos confortauit." *Latin MS.*

<sup>2</sup> Their ministrations are described in the Latin, just after St Catharine was thrown into prison. The Semi-Saxon has passed it over.

<sup>3</sup> The Latin adds how St Catharine, receiving a crown from the old men who sat by, placed it on the queen's head.

<sup>4</sup> The remainder of this brilliant description is rather a paraphrase than a translation.

þu ȝet wite wult hwucche wihȝes þer beon þer as tis blisse is, ȝif þer is or-cost oðer eni ahte,—ieh þe onswerie: Al þat eauer god is, al is ter eihwer; and hwat se noht wurð nis, þat nis ter nohwer. ȝif þu askest, hwat oht<sup>1</sup>? Þat nan eorðlich ehe ne mei hit seon, ich segge, ne nan eorðlich eare hercenen ne heren, ne heorte þenchen of mon, ant (hure) meale wið muð, hwat te worlðes Wealdent haueð iȝarket to þeo þat him riht luuieð.” Porphire ant Auguste iwarðen of þes wordes swiðe wel eweme; ant se hardi for þi þat ha hefden isehen sihðen of heonene, þat ha wenden fram hire abute midniht, ȝarewe to alle þe wa, þat eni mon mihte ham ȝarken, to drehen for Drihtin.

Freineden Porphire alle hise cnihtes hwer he hefden wið þe Cwen iwunet ant iwaket se longe of þe niht. And Porphire ham seide: “Hwer ich habbe iwaket ich on wel þat ȝe witen, for wel ow schal wurðen, ȝif ȝe me wulleð lustnin ant leuen; for nabbe ich nawt þis niht worldliche iweccet, ah habbe heuenliche iwaket; þer is al ni rihte bileaue; þer men unweah me þe wei þat leadeð to lif, þer as men limeð ai, i blisse buten euch bale, i wunne buten wa. For þi, ȝif ȝe beon mine, as under me isette, ant wulleð alle wið me in eche mnrhðe wunien, leaueð to leue lengre o þes mix ant lease mannez, þat merreð ow ant alle þeo þat ham to-luteð; ant wendeð to þe Wealdent þat al þe world wrahte, God heuenlich Fader, euch godes ful, ant heieð ant herieð his an deorewurðe Sune, Iesu Crist hatte, ant te Hali Gast (hare baðre lune), þat lihteð of ham baðe, ant limeð to-gederes, swa þat nan ne mei sundren fram oðer;—alle þreo an Godd, almihti, ouer al! For he halt in his hond (þat is, wisseð ant wealt) þe heuene ant te eorðe, þe sea ant te sunne. ant alle ischepene þinges, sehene ant unsehene. Ðeo þat leoueð þis soð ant leaueð þat lease, and buhsame ant beisume haldeð his heastes, he haueð bihaten ham þat he ham wile lasten þat is blisse buten ende i þe riche of heuene. And hwa se is swa unseli þat he þis schunie, ne schal he neauer tene ne tintrehe trukien in inwarde helle. To longe we hauen driuen ure dusischipes, ant he haueð iþolede us, þe þolemode Lauerd; ne we nusten hwat we diden, aðat he undutte us, ant tahte us trewe bileaue, þurh þat eadi meiden KATERINE, þat te king pineð in ewalm-hus, ant þencheð to aewellen.” Ðus he taledo wel wið twa hundred cnihtes, ant wið ma ȝet, þat ȝenen anen up hare ȝeomere bileaue, ant wurpen al awai hare witlese lei, ant wenden to Criste<sup>3</sup>.

Crist ne forȝet nawt þat he ne nom ȝeme to hire þat men held ȝet, as te Keiser het, bute mete ant mel, i þe ewarterne; ah wið fode of heuene, þurh his ahte engel in eulurene iliche, fedde hire al þe twelf dahes,—as he dide Daniel þurh Abacue þe prophet i þe liunes lehe, þer he in-lutede<sup>4</sup>. Ure Lauerd himself com wið engles, ant wið monie mednes wið-alle, wið swuch dream ant drihtfare as Drihtin deah to cumen; ant scheawde him ant sutede himself to hire seluen, ant

<sup>1</sup> ‘Quod, inquis, bonum?’ *Latin MS.*

<sup>2</sup> ‘Idola vana, quæ huc usque coluimus, relinquitte.’ *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> ‘Erant ducenti et eo amplius milites quibus a Porphyrio talia referebantur, qui mox idola vana respuentes ad Christum conversi sunt.’ *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> ‘Et quia bis senis diebus sine alimeuto eam esse tyrannus iusserat, qui Daniele prophetam in lacu leonum pavit, ipse innocentam puellam, per hos dies, missa de cælo candida columba, fovere non destitit.’ *Ibid.*

spee wið hire ant seide, "Bihald me, deore dohter, bihald tin hehe Healand! for hwas nome þu hauest al undernumen þis nowein. Beo stalewurde ant stond wel. Ne þarf þu drede na deað for: lo! wið hwæccho ich habbe idilt to do þe i mi kinedom, þat is tin, wið me imeane as mi leofmon. Na þing ne dred tu, for ich am eauer wið þe, do þat men do þe; ant monie schulen þurh þe ȝet turne to me<sup>1</sup>." Wið þis ilke step up wið al þat heouenliche hird, ant steah into þe heuene; ant heo biheld after ai hwil ha mihte, blisful ant bliðe.

Vnder þis com þe þurs Maxenee, þe wode wulf, þe heaðene hund, aȝain to his kine-burh. Deos meiden, i þe marhen, was ibroht bi foren him<sup>2</sup>; ant ho begon to fon on, o þisse weis, toward hire, "Ðis me were wilre, ȝif þu wel waldest, to habbe ant to halden þe ewic, þen to aewellen þe. Du most nede, noðeles, an of þes twa curen ant cheosen anan-riht: libbe, ȝif þu leist lae to ure liuende godes; oðer, ȝif þu nult nawt, drelliche deien." Þis meiden sone anan onswerede ant seide, "Let me libben, swa þet I ne leose nawt him þat is mi leof ant mi lif. Iesu Crist, mi Lauerd. Ne nawiht ne drede ich deað þat ouer-geað, for þat endeles lif þat he haueð ileaned me anan-riht prefter. Ah þu bipeneche þe anan teonen ant tintrehen, þe alre meast derue þat eni deadlich flesch mahe drehen ant drahen. for me longeð heonnewarð: for mi Lauerd, Iesu Crist, mi deorewurðe leofmon, lutel ear haueð ileaded me; ant wel is me þat ich mot baðe mi flesch ant mi blod offrin him to lake, þat offrede to his Fader, for me ant for al fole, himself o þe rode<sup>3</sup>."

Hwil þe king weol al inwið of wraððe, com a burh-rene, as þe þat was te deoueles budel, Belial of helle, Cursates hehte<sup>4</sup>, ant tus on heh clepede: "O kene King, O icud Keiser, ȝet ne seh Katerine nanes cunnes pine þat ha ah to drede. Do idon dede, nu ha þus preateð ant preapeð aȝain þe. Hat, hwil ha wed þus, inwið þeos þre dahes ȝarken fowr hweoles, ant let þurh-driuen prefter þe speaken ant te felien wið irnene gadien; swa þat te pikes ant te irnene preones, se scarpe ant se starke, borien þurh ant beoren forð feor o þat oðer half, þat al þat hweol beo þurh-spited mid kenre pikes þen eni cnif, rawe bi rawe. Let tenne turnen hit swiftliche abuten; swa þat Katerine wið þat grisliche rune, hwen ha þer bi-sit ant bihalt ter upon, swike hire sotschipes, ant ure wil wurehe; oðer, ȝif ha nule no, ha schal beo to-hwiðered wið þe hweoles, swa (in an hondhwile) þat alle þat hit bihaldeð schulen grure habben."

Þe king herenede his reað, ant was sone, as he het, þis heane ant tis hatele tintroeh itimbret; ant was te þridde dai idrahen þider as te reuen weren eauer wunet. Ant te king heold ta, of þis eadi meiden, hise kine-motes.

Þis pinfule gin was o swuch wise iginet, þat te twa turnden eider wiðward oðer, ant anes weis baðe; þe oðer twa turnden anes weis als wa, ah to-ȝain þe oðre;

<sup>1</sup> "Constans esto et ne paveas: quia ego tecum sum, nec te desero. Est etenim non parva turba hominum per te nomini meo creditura." *Latin MS.*

<sup>2</sup> In the Latin, Maximinus is made to express his amazement that St Catharine was so little affected by her twelve days' fast.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Latin, the discussion is then continued, and the courage of the martyr excites several of the spectators to become Christians.

<sup>4</sup> "Supervenienti autem vir quidam, nomine Cursates, urbis prefectus, et ipse vir Belial, furentem regem ad novam accendit insaniam." *Ibid.*



swa þat hwen þe twa walden kasten upward þing þat ha cahten, þe oðre walde drahen hit ant dusten dunewardes;—se grisliche igreideð, þat grure grap each mon hwen he lokede þron. Her, amid heapes, was tis meiden iset, for to al to-ronden ant rewfulliche to-renden, ȝif ha nakde hare rað heren ne herenen. Ah heo kast up hire ehne ant cleopede toward heuene, ful hehe wið hire heorte, ah wið stille steuene: “Almihti Godd, euð nu ȝi mihte; ant menske nu ȝin hehe nome, heauenliche Lauerd! ant for to festni ham i heowe bileaue, þat beo to þe iturnde, ant Maxence ant alle hise halden ham mate, smit smertliche þerto, þat alle þise fowr hwocles to-hwiðeren to stucches.” Dis was uneað iseid, þat an engel ne com wið feorliche afluhete fleoninde a-duneward, ant draf þerto dun-riht as a þunres dune: ant duste hit a swuch dunt, þat hit bigon to clateren ant al to cleuen, to bresten ant to breken, as tah hit were bruchel gleas, ba ðe treo ant te irn; ant ruten forð wið swuch rune, þe stucchen of baðe, bimong ham as ha stoden ant seten þer abuten, þat ter weren isleine of þat awariede folc fowr þusend fulle. Der men mihte heren þe heaðene hundes ȝellen ant ȝuren on each half: þe Cristene kenchen ant herie þen Healend, þe helpeð hise ouer al. Ðe Keiser, al a-canget, hefde ilosed mon-dream, ant dearede, al a-deadet, dri-pinnde ant dreri, ant druppest alre monne<sup>2</sup>.

þe Cwen stod eauer stille on hehe, ant biheold al. Hefde ihud hire aðat tenne, ant hire bileaue ihel; þa ȝet ne mahte ha na mare; ah dude hire a-dun swiðe ant forð wiðute fearlac o fot þiderwardes; ant weorp hire biforn þen awariede wulf<sup>3</sup>, ant ȝeide ludere steuene, “Wrecche mon, þat tu hit art! hwerto wul’ tu wrestlen wið þe worldes Wealdent? Hwat madschipe makeð þe, þu bittre balefule beast! to weorren Him þat wrahte þe ant alle worldliche þinges? Beo nu ken, ant enawes, of þat tu isehen hanest, hu mihti ant hu meiful, hu heh ant hu hali is þes Cristenes Godd, Crist þat ha herieð. Hu wrakeliche, wenes’ tu, wule [he] al o wraððe wreken o þe, wrecche! þat hæuð to-driuen wið a dunt, ant fordon (for þe) to dei se feole þusend?”—Monie wið-alle of þat heaðene folc, þat alle weren isihen hider for to seo þis feorlich, sone se ha þis sehen ant herden [swa] þe Cwen speken,—alle somen turnden ant token to ȝeien, “Witerliche, muche wurð, ant wurð alle wurðschipe, is þes meidenes Godd, Crist, Godd, Godes Sune: ant him we kenneð ant enaweð to Lauerd ant to heh Healend heonne forðwardes; ant tine mið maumez alle beon amased; for ha ne mahen nowðer helpen ham seluen, ne ham þat ham serueð.”

þe king walde weden, swa him gremed wið ham; ah wið þe Cwen swiðest. Biheld hire heterliche, ant bigon to þreatin hire þus, o þisse wise: “Hu nu, dame, dotes tu? Cwen, a-canges tu nu wið alle þes oðre? Hwi motes tu se madliche? Ich swerie bi þe mihtes of ure godes muchele, bute ȝif þu, þe timluker, do þe i þe ȝein-turn, ant ure godes grete þat tu gremest nuðe<sup>4</sup>, I schal schawe hu

<sup>1</sup> ‘Quid plura? Dolor et confusio gentium, vox et exultatio Christianorum.’ *Latin MS.*

<sup>2</sup> ‘Ipse tyrannus, dentibus frendens et mente turbatus, quid agat excogitat.’ *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> ‘In conspectu bellue saviensis.’ *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> ‘Quod nisi maturius ab hac stultitia respiciens diis immolaveris.’ *Ibid.*



mi sword bite i þi swire; ant lete to-luken þi flesch þe fulheles of þe luste. And zet ne schal tu nower neh se lichtliche atsterten, ah strengre þu schalt polien; for ich 'ulle leote luken ant teo þe tittes awei of þine bare breosten, ant þrefter do þe to deað, deruest þing to drehen." "Alle þine preates ne drede ich," quod ha, "riht nawt. Eauer se þu mare wa ant mare weane dost me, for mi newe lefmon, þat ich on wið luue leue, se þu wures mi wil ant mi weol mare. Du nu penne hihendliche þat tu hauest on heorte, for of me ne schal tu biȝete nawiht mare." Sone se he understod wel þat he ne sturede hire nawt, het (on hat herte) unhendeliche nimen hire; ant wiðute dom, anan-riht, þurh-driuen hire tittes wið irnene neiles, ant renden ham up heterliche wið þe breoste-roten. As þes deoneles driucles drohen to fordon hire. ha biseh toward Katerine, ant seide. "Eadi meiden! ernde me to þi leue Lauerd. for hwas lune ich polie þat men bi-limeð me þus; þat He, i þe tentrehe þat ich am iturn to, harde min [heorte], þat tes wake ules ne wurse neauer mi mod<sup>1</sup>, swa þat I slakie to of-earnen heuen-riche; ant ich ne forga neauer for fearlaie of na pine þat beo fleschliche. þe erune þat Crist haneð (after þat tu cwiddest) ilenet<sup>2</sup> hise icorenc." "Ne dred tu nawt," quod KATERINE, "derewurðe Cwen, ant dere wið Drihtin of heuene, for þe is ilened to dei, for a lutel eorðlich lond, þat heuenlich kinedom; for a mon of lam, Him þat is Lauerd of lif<sup>3</sup>; for þis lute pine þat a-lið i lute hwile, endelese reste i þe riche of heuene; ant for þis swifte pine, þat a-swikeð se sone, blissen buten ende, ant murhðen ai mare. Ant nawt ne wene þu þat tu forwurðe; for nu þu biginnest earst, ant art iboren, to libben i þe lif þat lasteð ai buten ende"

Þe Cwen þurh þis steuene was swiðe istrenget; ant se stalewurðe, þat ha bigon to clepien upo þe cwelleres, ant hihede ham to donne þat ham was ihaten. And heo diden drohen hire wiðute þe burh-ȝates; ant tuhen hire tittes up of hire breoste, bi þe bare bane, wið cawles of irne; ant swipten of þrefter. wið sword, hire heaued; ant heo swerf to Criste<sup>4</sup> upo þe þreo ant twentude dei of Nouembres moneð,—ant þat was on a Wednesdei þat ha þus wende martir to þe murhðes þat neauer ne wonieð.

Porphire anan-riht ferde þider i þe niht, ant swecche wið him of hise men þat he wel truste on; ant al þe laddies licome lefliche smerde wið smirles of aromaz swote smellinde, ant biburiede hire as hit deh martir ant cwen for to donne. Men com i þe marhen, [ant] het witen hwa hefde, aȝain þe kinges forbode, þat licome ilad þeonne. Ðah Porphire sch fele, þat men seide hit upon. gultlese, leaden ant draien to deaðe, leap forð wiðute fearlaie, ant com to-fore þe Keiser, ant keneliche cleopede, "Sei, þu Sathanase sune, þu King foreuðest! hwat const' tu to þes men, þat tu þus leades? Lowr! ich am her, þu hatele gast, wið alle mine hird-men, to ȝelden reisun for ham. Fordem nu me ant mine. þat we (aȝain þin heast) þat licome awei ledden ant leiden in eorðe." "Nu þu art," quod þe king. "iken ant ienawen þat tu haues deað earned. ant þurh þe

<sup>1</sup> "Ut infra instantem passionis hujus articulum confirmet cor meum, ne caro infirma cogat." &c. *Latin MS.*

<sup>2</sup> 'Coronam...a Christo promissam.' *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> 'Pro mortali sponso, immortaltem.' *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> 'Migravit ad Christum.' *Ibid.*

alle þe oðre. Ah for þu art eud eniht ant heaued of ham alle, cheos ȝet of þeos twa; oðer, chear anan-riht, þat te oðre chearren þurh þe, ant tu schalt libben, ant beo leof ant wurðme; oðer, ȝef þu nult no, streche forð þi swire, scharp sword to underfon."

Porphire ant alle hise helden ham to-gederes; ant wið se soðe gabbes gremeden him se sare, þat he het heterliche, anan, wiðute þe burh bihefden ham euch fot; ant leafden hare bodies unbiburied alle, fode to wilde deor ant to luft-fuheles. His heast was iforðet, ant alle cleane bihefde; ah, for al his forbode, nes hit þat te bodies neren ifat i þe niht ant feire biburiet<sup>1</sup>. Nalde nawt Godd leten his martirs licomes ligen to forleosen, þat hefde bihaten þat an her of hare heaued ne schulde forwurðen.

þa ȝet nes nawt þe kinges þurst wið al þis blod ikelet; ah het KATERINE cume swiðe biforen. Ha was sone ibroht forð, ant he bigon to seggen, "Ðah þu beo schuldi þe ane of alle cleane; þah þu, wið þi wiccheecraftes, hauest imaket se monie eornen toward hare deað, as ha weren wode; ȝet, ȝif þu wiðdrahes te, ant wult greten ure godes ase forð as þu ham hauest igremet ant igabbet, þu mahte in alle murhðe long libben wið me, ant meast schalt beo eud ant ieuð in al mi kine-riche. Ne lead tu us na lengre, ah loke nu, biliue, hweðer þe beo leuere don þat ich leare ant libben ȝif þu swa dost; oðer, þis ilke dei se dreorliche deien, þat alle ham schal agrisen þat hit bihalden."

"Nai," quoð KATERINE, "nis nawt ladlich sihðe to seo fallen þing, þat schul arisen þurh þat fal a þusend-fald þe fehre; of deað to lif undeaðlich, ant to arisen fram ream to ai-lastende lahtre; fram bale to eche blisse; fram wa to wunne ant to wele þurh-wuniende. Nawiht, King, ne kepe ich þat tu lengre hit firsti<sup>2</sup>: ah hat tu hihendeliche þat tu hauest on heorte, for ich am ȝarow to al þe wa þat tu const me ȝarken, swa þat ich seo mahe mi lufsome leof-mon<sup>3</sup>, ant beo ibroht se bliðe binong mine felahes, þat folhen him ouer al i þe feire ferreden of uirgines in heuene."

þe king, as þe þat was for-drenet i þe deoules puisun<sup>4</sup>, nuste hwat meanen: ah het swiðe don hire ut of hise sihðe, ant bihefden hire, utewið the barren of þe burhe<sup>5</sup>. Heo, as men ledde hire, lokede aȝainward, for ludinge þat ha herde; ant seh sihen after hire heaðene monie, wefmen ant wimmen, wið wringende honden, ant wepide sare. Ah þe meidenes alre meast, wið sari mod ant sorhful, ant te riche lafdis, letten teares trendlen. And heo bi-wende hire aȝain, sumhwat iwraððet, ant e-twat ham hare wop with þulliche wordes: "Ȝe lafdis ant ȝe meidenes, ȝif ȝe weren wise, nalde ȝe nawt bringe me forð toward blisse wið se bale bere. Nalde ȝe neuwer remen ne makie reowðe for me, þat fare to eche reste, into þe riche of heuene. Beoð bliðe, ich biseche ow, ȝif ȝe me blisse unneð; for ich

<sup>1</sup> The *Latin* says nothing about this burial of the bodies. It adds, however, 'Consummata est itaque horum passio mense Novembrio, die viicesima quarta, feria quinta.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Te ergo pertrahere diutius, tyranne, non

quero.' *Latin MS.*

<sup>3</sup> 'regem meum.' *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> 'furiis spiritibus debriatus.' *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> 'extra portam civitatis.' *Ibid.*

seo Jesu Crist, þat cleopeð me ant copneð; þat is mi Lauerd and mi luue, mi lif ant mi leof-mon, mi wunne ant me iweddeth, mi murhðe ant mi mede, ant meidene crune<sup>1</sup>. Ower wop wendeð al on ow seluen, leste 3e eft wepen echeleche in helle, for þat heaðene lif þat 3e in-liggen; as 3e schulen alle, bute 3e forleten (hwil 3e beon o luue) ower misbeleauē." As ha hefde iseid tus, bisohte him wið þe brond, as hit blikede buuen hire ant schulde hire bane beon, þat he for his freolaie firstede hire ant fremede, þe hwil þat ha buhde hiro ant bede ane bone. He 3ettede hire ant 3ef hire bliðeliche leaue. And heo biheold upward wið up-aheuen heorte; ant, encolinde duneward. þus to Crist cleopede: "Lauerd, leome ant lif of alle riht bileafde; milde Iesu, þat art þe self meidene mede; ihered ant iheied beo þu, hehe Healend! And te ich þonki, Lauerd, þat tu hauest ileauet me, ant waldest þat ich were i þe tale of pine wummen<sup>2</sup>. Lauerd, milce me nu, ant 3ette me þat ich 3erne; ich bidde þe þeos bone, þat alle þoa þat munneð mi pine ant mi passiuon to þe, leue Lauerd, ant clepian to me hwen ha schulen þe derf of deað drehen. oðer hwen se ha hit eauer doð in neod ant in nowein, hihendliche iher ham, heuenliche Healend! A-flei fram ham al uuel, weorre ant wone baðe, ant untidi wederes; hunger, ant eueh hete þat heaneð ham ant harmeð! Lowr! ich abide her þe bite of swordes egge; þe þat me to deade doð, do al þat he mei; nime þat he nime mei, þe lif of mi lieome. Mi sawle I sende to þe, Healend, in heuene: hat þat ha beo iset þurh pine hali engles i þat heuenliche hird bimong pine meidnes."

Hefde ha bute iseid tus, þat ter ne com a steuene stihende fram heouene, "Cum, mi leoue leofmon; cum, þu min iweddeth, leouest a' wummon! Low, þe 3ate of eche lif abid te al opened! De wununge of eueh wunne kepeð ant copneð þi come. Lo! al þat meidene mot, ant þat hird of heuene, comeð her a3ain þe, wið kempene crune! Cum nu, ant ne beo þu na þing o dute of al þat tu ibeden hauest<sup>3</sup>. Alle þeo þat munneð þe ant ti passiuon, hu þu deað drohe, wið inwarde heorte, in eauereneh time þat heo to þe clepieð wið luue ant rihte beleaue, ich bihate ham hihendliche helf of heuene<sup>4</sup>.

Heo wið þis steuene strahte forð swifteleche þe snaw-hwite swire, ant cweð to þe cwellere: "Mi lif ant mi leof-mon, Iesu Crist, mi Lauerd, haueð iclepet me to him. Do nu þene hihendliche þat te is ihaten." And he, as ha hat him, hef þat hatele sword up, ant swipte hire of þat heaued. I þat ilke stede anan iwurðen twa wundres. Ðe an wes þat ter sprang ut, wið þe dunt, mile imenget wið blod, to beoren hire wisse of hire hwite meidenhad<sup>5</sup>. Ðat oðer was, þat te engles lihten of heuene ant heuen hire on heh up, ant beren forð hire bodi ant biþuriēden hit i þe munt of Synai, þer Moyses fatte þe lahe at ure Lauerd; fram þeonne as ha deide, twenti dahene gong. And 3et mare, as pilgrimes seggen þat wel witen, þer ure Lauerd wurcheð se feole wundres for hire as na muð ne mei munnen<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 'Qui est amor meus, rex et sponsus meus, qui est merces copiosa sanctorum, decus et corona virginum.' *Latin MS.*

<sup>2</sup> 'Qui me inter collegium ancillarum tuarum connumerare dignatus es.' *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> 'Veni ergo et ne solliciteris de donis que postu-

las.' *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> 'Opem celerem, de celo promitto.' *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> 'In testimonium virginis innocentie.' *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> 'Quo in loco innumera ad laudem Domini fiunt mirabilia.' *Ibid.*

Ah bimong ham alle þis is an of þe hehste, þat ter renneð ai mare eoile, iliche riue, ant strikeð a stream ut of þat stanene þurh<sup>1</sup> þat ha in-resteð. Ȝet, of þe lutle banes, þat flowen ut wið þe eoile, floweð oðer eoile ut, hwider se men eauer bereð ham, ant hwer se ha beon ihalden, þat heales alle uueles ant botneð men of euch bale, þat riht bileaue habben<sup>2</sup>.

Þus wende þe eadi meiden KATERINE ierunet to Criste, fram eorðliche pinen, i Nouembris moneð, þe fif ant twentuðe dai, ant Fridai, onont te Under<sup>3</sup>; i þe dai ant i þe time þat hire deore leof-mon, Iesu ure Lauerd, leafde lif o rode, for hire ant for us alle.

Beo he, ase Healend, ihered ant iheiet, in alre worlde world, a on eennesse. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> 'De sepulchro ipsius rivus olei indeficenter manare videtur.' *Latin MS.*

<sup>2</sup> 'Nam et de minutis ossibus quæ de sarcophago cum oleo effluunt, ubicunque asportantur salutaris

olei liquor, stillare non desinit, ex quo peruncta debilium corpora celeris medicinæ opem reportant.' *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> 'Feria sexta, hora tertia.' *Ibid.*

# Glossary.

[In preparing this list of the more remarkable archaisms, the Editor has to acknowledge his frequent obligations to a similar collection by Mr Morton, and also to the copious Glossary appended by Sir Frederic Madden to his edition of Layamon's Brut. In some cases no attempt has been made to settle the etymology; while in others it is sufficiently indicated by printing the *prefix* in italics. Those words, which are not immediately derivable from current Anglo Saxon forms, are marked with an asterisk.]

## A.

a, aa, ai, aye, *always*, A. S.

\*acangest, 2 *sing. pr.*, also *pp.* acanget, *to become* *cang*, *mad*, *impious*; cf. *cang*.

\*acaste, 3 *sing. p.*, *defeated*, also *pp.* akast; Icel. kasta.

acwellen, *to kill*, A. S.

adeadet, *mortified*.

adilt, *pp.* appointed, A. S.

adwescen (adan), *to throw (down)*; A. S. adwæscan, *to quench*.

afellen, *to overturn*; A. S. fyllan, Icel. fella, *to fell*.

aflei, *imper. put thou to flight*; A. S. a-fligan (see fleide).

agaste, 3 *sing. p.*, *confounded*. See Richardson, *under agast*.

agide, 3 *sing. p.* *awed*; A. S. ege, *fear*; Goth. ogjan, *to make afraid*.

ogrisen, *to horrify*, A. S.

ah, *ought*, 3 *sing. indef.*; ahte, 3 *sing. p.*; ahten, 3 *pl. p.*; A. S. agan.

ahne, *own*; A. S. agen.

ahte, *possessions*, and more especially, *cattle*; A. S. aht.

akennet, *pp.* begotten; A. S. cennan.

alesed, *pp.* delivered; A. S. a-lysan.

aliss, 3 *sing. pr.*, *falls away*; A. S. licgan.

amansed, *pp.* accursed (*var. read.* awarriet); A. S. a-mānsumian, *to excommunicate*.

au, *own*, same as *ahne*.

anes, *once*; A. S. anc siðe; anes, *gen. sing.* of an, *one*, *single*, *only*.

anhad, *unity*, *oneness*; A. S. an-had.

areaw, *p. pitied*; arewe, *imper. pity thou*; A. S. hreowan.

arudden, *to rid*, *set free*; *pp.* arud; A. S. hreddan.

\*as, *when*, *then*, *where*, *like*, *as*; cf. Icel. allz.

aswikeð, *censures*, *or destroys*; A. S. swican, *to delude*, *fallere*. Cf. notes on Layamon, III. 455.

atheld, *p. kept back*; A. S. healdan.

\*atsterten, *to escape*, *to start out*; Germ. *provinc.* sterzen, *to ramble*.

atstutte, *p. remained*; A. S. atstandan, *adstare*.

aðat = a þat, *until*; A. S. oððat.

awahke, *p. awoke*; A. S. aweccan.

awcald, *imper. overrule thou*, *pp.* awcalt, *overpowered*; A. S. wældan, *to rule*.

awedde, *pp.* mad; A. S. wædan, *to rage*.

aȝet, a ȝet, *until*, (*var. read.* aȝet.)

## B.

ba, *both*; A. S. begen and bā.

\*baðe, *conjunction* and *adj.*; baðre, *gen. pl.* for A. S. begra. Cf. Icel. baðir.

bale, balewe, *misfortune*, *misery*, *contempt*; A. S. bealu; also an *adj.* *sorrowing*, *baleful*.

balden, *to bolder*, *to encourage*; A. S. bald.

\*beisume, *obedient*; cf. Germ. beugsam, *pliant*; A. S. buhsomnes, *obedience*.

bcoren [forð], *to project*; A. S. beran, *to bring forth*, *carry*.

bere, *a bier*.

hereð (on che), *seems (to the eye)*.

bicherde, *outwitted*; A. S. bi-cerran, *to turn beyond*.

bidweoleð, *pp.* bewildered; A. S. dwelian, *to err*.

bi-eoden, *kindly attended to*; A. S. begān.

bigapede, *p. gazed with wonder*; A. S.

biȝeate, *dat.* gain, *aggrandizement*; biȝeten, *to acquire*; A. S. getan, *to obtain*.

biȝuleð, *beguileth*; A. S. be-wiglan, *to divine*, *to juggle*, *or begalan*, *to enchant*. Layamon has bigolen, *they enchanted*.

bihaten, *pp.* promised; also, *p.* bihet; A. S.

biheolden, *to preserve*, *fortify*; A. S.

bilimeð, *tear limb from limb*, 3 *pl. pr.*; A. S. lim:

the verb *bi-limien* occurs in Layamon, III. 176. bilīue, *quickly*; common in early English: 'bi heore liue.' See notes on Layamon, III. 494.

biradde, *designed*; A. S. nedan.

bitahte, *confided*, *committed*; A. S. betæcan.

biteuelet, *pp.* beaten; A. S. twelfan, *to play at tables*.

bituined, *pp.* inclosed. The true form is probably bituned (A. S. tyнан): *var. read.* bitrmet, *fortified*.

bote, *a remedy*; A. S. bōt.

botnede, *p. cured*; botneð, *pr. cures*; A. S. betan, of which botnan was a variation.

bruche, *use*, (*subst.*): A. S. brucan, *to use*.

bruche, (*pl.* -en, and also -es) *transgression, breach* (of law); A. S. brecan, *to break*.

\*bruchel, *frail, brittle*; Dutch, brokkelig.  
budel, *crier, beadle*; A. S. hydel.

buggen, *to buy, procure*; A. S. byggan.

\*bulden, *to imagine, to build* (i þin heorte); cf. A. S. hold, *a house*, and Germ. bilden, *to form* an *image*.

\*bule, *bull*; Icel. bauli, bole, (*baula, a cow*)  
burh-rene, *prefect of the city*; A. S. burh-gerefa.  
buri-bold, *palace, town-residence*; A. S. burh-bold.

## C.

\*cang, *adj. mad, reprobate*; cf. a-cangest, and Icel. keng, *curvus*.

chear, *imper. turn thou*; chearren, *inf. to turn*; A. S. cerran.

\*clergesse, *a scientific female*; A. N.

\*clergeis, *either, learned bodies, or literary pursuits*.  
See Roquefort.

cnawlecheš, 1 *plur. pr. acknowledge*; A. S. cnawan.  
cnawleching, *acknowledging*. Cf. cnawlechen with A. S. cyš-læcan.

\*cointe, *well-informed, accomplished, (quaint)*. See Roquefort's Gloss.

con, A. S. can, 3 *sing. pr. of cunnan, to know how, to be able*.

copneš, 3 *sing. pr. longs for*; also 3 *pl.* Traces of the word appear in A. S. copenere, *a lover*.

crauant, *pp. disabled, craven*; (?) A. S. crafigende, *craving, in the condition of supplicants*.

\*crokes, *wiles, seductions*; Icel. krokr, *a bend*; kroki, *to bend*.

\*crokinde, *twisting, perverting*.

\*eros, *cross*; A. N.

cud, *pp. known, celebrated*; also, i-cud.

cuðe (as above), *pl.*; cuðest, *most renowned*.

cuðe, *familiar*; cuðe men ant uteumene, *natives and foreigners*.

cuðe, *spoke, for cwæð, p. of cwæðan*; A. S.  
cuðeš, 1 *pl. pr. indic.*; cudde, *p.*; cuðe, *imper. give proof*; A. S. cyðan, *to shew, make known*.

cuðen, 1 *pl. p. for cuðon, we could*; A. S. cunnan, *to know how*.

culuerene (*v. r. culure*) *gen. pl. doves*; A. S. culfra.

cun, *kin, lineage*; A. S. cyn; Goth. kuni.

cunnen, *to know*, 1 and 2 *pl. pr. we and ye know how*; A. S. cunnan.

cunde, *nature*; cundes, *natures* (divine and human); A. S. ge-cynd; Old Engl. kynde. Cf. eun.

curen, *to choose*; A. S. ceosan, Old Germ. kûren (kiesen).

\*cirt, *court* (of a sovereign); A. N. court, cort.

cwalm-hus, *torture-house*; A. S. cwealm, *death*; cwealmnys, *torment*.

cwarterne, *prison*; A. S. cwertern.

cweðen (*hire al up*), *to yield to her entirely*; cwe-ðen (*ham alle sker up*), *to give them all up entirely*.

cwiddest, *sayest*, 2 *sing. pr. of cwididian* = cwæðan.

## D.

\*dame, *lady*; A. N.

deah (*v. r. ah*) *it becomes, it is due*, 3 *sing. pr.*; also, deh; A. S. dagan, *valere*.

\*dearede (al a-deade, dripnide ant dreri) *trembled*, 3 *sing. p.*; 'droupe and dare' is a common phrase in old Engl. Richardson connects the word in this sense with A. S. dear, *to dare*; but the true etymology is suggested by Mr Morton in Swed. darra, *to quake*.

dearieš, 3 *pl. pr.* (?) *lie hid, dwell within* (said of spirits); dearede, 3 *sing. p. dwell* (in ure monnesse), i. e. *became incarnate*.

dearne, *pl. secret, private, hidden*; A. S. dearn, dærnen.

\*derf, *struggle* (of deaš); derue, *adj. severe*; derure, *more difficult*; deruete, *most painful*; derueš, 3 *sing. pr. molest*; cf. A. S. deorfan, *to be in difficulty*, and Scotch, darfe, *hard, cruel*.

\*diueren, *to wax faint, or, be confounded*; daver, *to droop*; Westmorel. Dial.

drehen, *to suffer, endure*; droh (for dreah) 3 *sing. p. he suffered*; A. S. dregan.

driht-fare, *majesty, pomp*; A. S. drihten, faru.

\*dripnide, (*var. read. durcninde*) *downcast*; cf. Goth. drobian; Germ. trüben; Eng. droop.

droh, 3 *sing. p. dragged*; A. S. dragan.

drupet, *most troubled* (alre monne); akin to dripnide, above.

duhti, *sound, orthodox*; A. S. dohtig, *doughty*.

dune, *din*; A. S. dyne.

dunt, *a blow*; A. S. dynt.

dusie, *foolish* (people); dusi *sing. opposed to duhti*; A. S. dysig.

dusilec, *folly*; (-lec being the A. S. -lác, or Icel. -leikr, -leiki); dusi-schipes, *follies, absurdities*.

\*dusten, *to dash, to strike*; dustes (*v. r. dudest*) 2 *sing. pr.*; duste, 3 *sing. pr.* See Mr Halliwell's Diet. under *dush, dusset, and dust-point*.

duuel-rihtes, (?) *lying flat*; cf. Halliwell, under *develing*. A person who stoops excessively, is said to 'go double' (York. Dial.), which may perhaps suggest the etymology.

## E.

earfe, *difficult*, (*var. read. erueš*); A. S. earfoš, earfeš.

ече, *eternal*; A. S. ece.

cie, *terror, awe, anger*; A. S. *ege*. See notes on Layamon, III. 455.

eiful, *awful* (var. *read. his fule*).

eiher (var. *read. iher*) *everywhere*; A. S. *egher*.

eileð, *aileth*; A. S. *eglan*.

eldrene, *gen. pl. parents*; A. S. *caldor, yldra*.  
clinede, 3 *sing. p. strengthened*; 2 *ing. clinedes* (for -est); A. S. *clnian*.

ode (o bote), *became a remedy*, *p. of A. S. gan*.

eornen, *to run*; A. S. *yrnan*.

erde, *imp. commend thou*; A. S. *arrendian, to go on an errand*.

etwat, 3 *ing. p. rebuked, ehid*; A. S. *ed-witan, æt-witan*. See Richardson, under *tuit*.

euene, *evening, equal*; A. S. *efen*.

ewe (var. *read. euh*), *each*; A. S. *ælc*.

ewt, *ought*; A. S. *ahit* (a, *wilt*).

## F.

fan, *foes*; A. S. *fah*.

fatte, *fetched, received*, 3 *ing. p. (for fette)*; A. S. *fetian*.

fearlac, *fear, terror*; A. S. *fier*, with term. -læc.

feng, 3 *ing. p. began*; also, *feng on*; A. S. *fôn*; cf. Germ. *anfangen*.

feorlich, *a marvel*; *feorliche, ferliche, wonderful, formidable, powerful* (like the Gr. *δευός*); A. S. *færlie, sudden, strange*.

feren, *companions* (var. *read. i-feren*); A. S. *gefëra*.

ferreden, *company*; A. S. *geferreden*.

festnen, *festni, to fasten*; A. S. *fæstnian*.

firstede, *would give respite to* (var. *read. friðede, would protect*); *firsti, shouldst delay*; A. S. *fyrstan*.

fleide, 3 *ing. p. frightened, put to flight*. Fla or flei is still in York. Dial. *to frighten*. Cf. A. S. *fleôn*.

flit, *disputation*; *pl. flites*; A. S.

*fliten, to dispute*; A. S.

fondeden, 3 *pl. p. tempted*; A. S. *fandian*.

fôn on, *to aim an assault*; A. S. *fôn, an*.

forbisne, *example*; A. S. *bysn*.

forhohien, *to disdain*; A. S. *for-hogian*.

forloosen, *to destroy, to perish, to lose*; A. S. *for-leosan, to lose*.

forwende (var. *read. uoreside*) 3 *ing. p. reputed*; A. S. *fore-wënan, to think beforehand*  
forwurðe, 2 *ing. pr. subj. perishest*; A. S. *for-worðan*.

\**for, man, person*.

framen, *to benefit*; *fremede, would indulge*; A. S. *fremian*.

frechen (var. *read. freoken*), *fellows*; A. S. *free, bold*; *freca, a bold warrior*. See Halliwell, under *frek* and *freke*.

freinen, *to ask*; also, 3 *pl. p. freineden*; A. S. *fregnan*.

freo, *free, pure*; *freolich, frëlich, noble*; *freolaic, liberality*; A. S.

frouren, *to comfort*; also, 3 *ing. p. frourede*; A. S. *frofrian*.

## G.

gabhes, *gibes, or bantering arguments*; A. S. *gabhan, to deride*. For the A. N. use of *gab*, see Roquefort. *Gob* is still current for *mouth* in the North of England, which explains 'gift of the gab.'

gadien, *goads*; A. S. *gād*.

gersum, *treasure*; A. S. *gærsuma*.

\**gin, engine*; A. N. *engien*.

gleo, *musical sound*; *gleowinge, gleeing, rejoicing*;

*gleowinde* (var. *read. gleowunge*), *id.*; A. S. *glig* (*gleo*), *gleowan*.

godlec, *godlike, goodness*; A. S. *gōd*, with A. S. term -læc, or Icel. -leiki.

grap, 3 *ing. p. seized*; A. S. *gripan, to gripe, grasp*.

grapes, (?) *gropings, inquiries*; A. S. *grapian, to grope*.

grome, *anger, fury*; A. S. *grama*.

grure, *horror*; A. S. *gryre*.

## H.

ha, *she* (for heo); also, *they* (for hi).

haliwei, *balsam*. In addition to Mr Morton's illustrations of the word, see Sir Frederic Madden on Layamon, III. 501. The derivation is A. S. *halig, holy*, or *hæl, healing*; and *hwæg, whey*.

ham (for hi or him), *them*.

\**hap, success*; Icel. *happ, luck*, whether good or bad.

hare (for hira), *of them, their*.

hat, 3 *ing. pr.* (= A. S. *hæt*); *het, hehte, 3 sing. p.*; *hete, 2 ing. pr. subj.*; *hat, hatte, hit, pp.*;

A. S. *hátan, to command*; also, *to call, to have for a name*.

hatele, *hateful*; A. S. *hatol*.

\**healden, to let fall, to pour* (said of water); cf. A. S. *hyldan, to bend, incline* (transit.). In Westmor. Dial. *helling = pelting*.

\**heane* (var. *read. heanin ne hatien*), *to disparage*; *heaneð, 3 ing. pr. hurts*; also, *heane, adj. vile, detestable*; (?) *Friesic, hena, to hurt*; A. S. *hean, worthless*; *hynan, to humble*.

hef, 3 *ing. p. raised*, 3 *pl. heuen*; A. S. *hebban*.

heie, 3 *ing. pr. reverences, extols*; *heien, to extol*; A. S. *hean, to make high* (*heih*, which occurs in Layamon).

heo, *she*, and also (incorrectly) *they*.

Heore, *Lord*; A. S. *hearra, dominus*.

herd, *herd*; A. S. *heorð*; Low Germ. *herd*.

herhede, 3 *ing. p. ravaged, plundered*; A. S. *hergian*.

hereð, 3 *ing. pr. honours*; A. S. *herian* (*hæren* occurs in Layamon).

\**heritage*; A. N.

herre, *higher*; A. S. hyrra.  
 hersumen, *to reverence*; 3 *sing. pr.* hersumeð :  
 A. S. hyrsumian.  
 hete, either *heat* or *hate*. See Notes on Layamon,  
 III. 464.  
 heterliche, *angrily, furiously*; A. S. aterlic, *snake-  
 like, horrible*.  
 hihen, *to hasten*; hihendeliche, *hastily*; A. S. hi-  
 gan, *to hie*.  
 hird, *household*; hird-men, *id.*; A. S. hired.  
 hoker, *contemptuous*; hokeres, *mockeries*; hoker-  
 est, 2 *sing. pr.* *mockest*; hokerliche, *contemptu-  
 ously*; A. S. hocer, *derision*.  
 houere (*var. read.* houerede), *crooked*; A. S. ho-  
 fered, *humpbacked*.  
 hure (*var. read.* ure), *still less*; A. S. huru, *at least*.

## I.

I, for A. S. ich; also, *in, on*, and as a prefix,  
 A. S. ge-.  
 ibet (*var. read.* ibroken), *pp. repaired*; A. S. betan.  
 icoren, icuret, *pp. selected*, icorue, *pl.*; A. S. ceosan,  
*pp. coren*.  
 idelet, *pp. distributed*; A. S. ðælan.  
 ifat, *pp. fetched* for gefetod; A. S. fetian.  
 \*iflut, *pp. transferred, removed from our former  
 dwelling* (*var. read.* ifluht); Swed. flytta, *still  
 extant in Engl. flit*.  
 ifulhtuet (*var. read.* ifulhet), *pp. baptized*; A. S.  
 fullian, *to baptize*; fulluht, *baptism*.  
 igabbet, *pp. mocked*; see gabbes.  
 \*iginet, *pp. devised*; A. N. engigner, *engineer, to  
 invent*.  
 igreiset, *pp. got ready, prepared*. See Halliwell,  
*under graithe*.  
 ihel, *pp. concealed*; A. S. hecan.  
 ikelet, *pp. cooled*; A. S. cælan, *to make cool*.  
 \*ikimet (of ow seluen), *pp. (var. read.* bikemet), *out  
 of your senses*. There seems to have been some  
 verb kimen or kenen, *to be crooked*; which was  
 related to kam, kim-kam, kimbo, &c. Akimed  
 occurs in Layamon, (see Notes, III. 507), and in  
 Mr Halliwell's Dict. we have kime, *a silly fellow*;  
 kimed, *awry, disordered in mind*.  
 ilad, *pp. led, taken away*; A. S. lædan.  
 ileanet (*var. read.* ilenet), *pp. granted, lent*; A. S.  
 leanian.  
 \*ilitet, *pp. coloured*; Icel. lita, *to dye*. The word is  
 still used in the North. See Halliwell, *under tit*.  
 imeane, *conjointly*; A. S. gemæne.  
 imenget, *pp. troubled, confounded*; A. S. menga.  
 iprud, *pp. adorned*; A. S. prutian, *superbire*.  
 isette, (*var. read.* isicide), *pp. spoken*; A. S. secgan,  
*pp. gesad*.  
 isihen, *pp. come*. See Gloss. to Layamon, *under  
 sizen*.  
 \*isliket, *pp. polished*; Icel. sliki *to polish, to make  
 sleek*.

istewet, *pp. checked*; see *stew*.  
 itende, *pp. inflamed*; A. S. tendan, *to kindle*; hence  
 Engl. *tinder*.  
 itimbret, *pp. constructed*; A. S.  
 iwarðen, 3 *pl. p.* *became*; A. S. geworðan.  
 iwent (upon him), *i. e. formed after his image*;  
 A. S. wendan, *to turn*.  
 iwurcheð (see wurcheð).  
 iwurðen, *pp. 'lette him iwurðen,' 'left him alone,'  
 'let him be.'*  
 izarket, *pp. prepared*; A. S. gearcian.

## K.

kempe, *champion*; *gen. pl.* kempene, *champions*;  
 A. S. cempa.  
 kenchen, 3 *pl. pr.* *exult*; cf. A. S. cincung, *great  
 laughter*.  
 kine-riche, *kingdom*; A. S. cyne-rice, *royal region*.  
 kine-setle, *throne*; A. S. cyne-setl, *royal seat*.

## L.

-lac, -laic, -lec, -leic; a termination equivalent  
 to A. S. -lác or Icel. -leikr, -leiki.  
 lac, *offering, victim*; *dat. sing.* lake; *pl.* lakes;  
 A. S. lác.  
 \*lahe, *legitimate*, like A. S. lahlic; lahede, 3 *sing. p.*  
*ordained*; Swed. laga, *to fix*.  
 lahes, *laws*; A. S. lah, or lagu.  
 lam, *clay*; A. S.  
 \*lastelesc, *blameless*; Icel. lasta-lauss, *free from vice*  
 (lastr). The word occurs in an early love-song  
 (about 1300): 'A lussum ledy lastelesc.' Warton's  
 E. P. I. 27, new ed.  
 lan, *wages*; A. S. læn.  
 lanhure. This word occurs four times, and seems  
 in every case = *at all events*. Mr C. W. Goodwin  
 conjectures for the derivation, A. S. la, *behold*;  
 nu, *now*; and huru, *at least*.  
 larespel, *teaching*; A. S. lar-spel, *treatise, sermon*.  
 \*lates, *manners* (generally). Sir F. Madden thinks  
 it cognate with leches, *looks, glances* (Notes on  
 Layamon, III. 449, 454). The etymology ap-  
 pears to be suggested by the Low German laten,  
*gerere se*; or Icel. lati, *n. pl. gestus, mores*.  
 leaffule, *believers*; leafful mon, *believer*; lef, *imper.  
 believe thou*; lefde, 3 *sing. p. believed*; A. S. lyfan,  
*to permit, concede*; geleafa, *faith*.  
 lef (*var. read.* leof), *love*; leflich (*var. read.* leof-  
 liche), *lovely, and also, affectionately*; lef-mon  
 (*var. read.* leone-mon), *leaf-mon, beloved one*;  
*gen.* lefmones; leue, *dear*; leui (*var. read.* leouie),  
*pl. dear*; leure (*var. read.* leouere), *preferable,  
 more lief*; A. S. leof.  
 leggen (adun), *to put (down, or confute)*; leiden,  
 3 *pl. p. laid*; leist, 2 *sing. pr.* *offerest*; A. S. lec-  
 gan, *to lay*.



lehe, *lair, den*; akin to the above: Dan. *kye, a bed*.  
 lei (into) 3 *sing. p. was subject (to)*; lið, 3 *sing. pr.*  
*lieth*; A. S. *liegan, to lie*.  
 lei, *flame*; dat. *leie*; A. S. *leg*.  
 lei, *law*; A. S. *lah, lagu*.  
 lihte, 3 *sing. p., alighted, descended*; A. S. *lihtan*.  
 lihten, *to light up*; leitede, 3 *sing. p., shone*; lei-  
 tende, *pr. p. blazing*; A. S. *lyhtan, to shine*.  
 leome, *light*; dat. *limen (var. read. leomen)*; A. S.  
*leor, countenance*; pl. *leores*; A. S. *lileor*.  
 leðien, *to slacken or loosen*; A. S. *liðian, to mitigate*.  
 lich, *a living body*; pl. *liches, corpses*; A. S. *lic*.  
 licome, *a living body*; licomliche, *bodily*; A. S.  
*lichama*.  
 \*limeð, *unites*; Icel. *lima, to glue*; cf. A. S. *ge-*  
*liman*.  
 liðerede, *lathered, or was bathed*. Such is the mean-  
 ing of this word, if it be equivalent to *leðerede* in  
 Layamon, v. 7489. See Sir F. Madden's notes,  
 III. 475.  
 lokede, 3 *sing. p. fixed or predetermined*.  
 lowr, apparently = *to! here*.  
 ludere (*var. read. lude*) *loud*; ludinge, *shouting*;  
 A. S. *hlūd, loud*; hlydan, *to vociferate*; Dutch,  
*luiding, ringing of bells*.  
 luft, dat. *air*; luft-fuðeles, *fowls of the air*; A. S.  
*lyft*.  
 luken, *to tear*; to-luken, *to tear in pieces*; A. S.  
*lyccan, evellere*.  
 lure, *harm*; luren (*var. read. lure*) *loss*; A. S. *lyre*.  
 luste (*var. read. liste*), *intellectual power or skill*;  
 A. S. *list, wisdom, art*.  
 luste, *desire*; lusti, *jovous*; A. S. *lust, desire, delight*.  
 lut, *few*; A. S. *lyt*.  
 lune-runes, *lore mysteries*; A. S.  
 luðer, (1) wið luðer eie, *with brute terror*; (2) wið  
 luðer strengðe, *with brute force*; luðere, *wicked-*  
*ness*; (?) A. S. *lyðr, bad, sordid*.

## M.

ma, *more*; A. S.  
 madschipe, *madness, infatuation*; apparently = *ot-*  
*schipe*.  
 \*mate, *confounded*; A. N. See Roquefort, under *mat*.  
 \*maumetes, *gen. idols*; maumez, *false gods*. Lay-  
 amon once writes it *mahimet*, which fixes the deri-  
 vation to *Mahomet*.  
 me. This word occurs twice as an initial particle  
 = *but, moreover*. Mr Morton conjectures that it  
 is the French *mais*. It may, with equal proba-  
 bility, be regarded as a conjunctive use of A. S.  
*ma, more*; just as the French *mais* = Latin  
*magis*.  
 mealde, 3 *sing. p. spoke, discoursed*; mealeð, 3 *sing.*  
*pr.*; meale[n], *infin.*; A. S. *maðelen*; Icel.  
*mæli, to speak*.  
 meanen (him), *to bemoan (himself), to complain*.  
 meanen, *to think*; A. S. *mænan, to wish, to remember*.

meinfu, *powerful*; A. S. *mægen, strength*; Engl.  
*main, e. g. main force*.  
 menske, *imper. honour thou*; also, *te menske, the*  
*honour*. See Halliwell, under *mense* and *menske*.  
 mereminnis, *gen. mermaid's, siren's*; A. S. *merc,*  
*sea*; man, *one of human kind, or mennen, a*  
*damsel*.  
 milce, *grave, merry*; also, *imper. be thou gracious*  
*to*; A. S. *mild-se, merry*; miltisan, *to pity*.  
 misþuncheð, 3 *sing. pr. mis-seemeth*.  
 mix, *foul, loathsome (applied to idols)*; A. S. *meox,*  
*dung*.  
 modi, *modie, proud*; modicste (*var. read. mod-*  
*geste*), *proudest*; A. S. *modig*.  
 mon-dream, *human joy*; A. S.  
 mot, *reasoning, pl. motives*; haucð mot, *holdeth*  
*moot, disputes*; moten, *to dispute*; mote-de, 3  
*sing. p. reasoned*; motes, 3 *sing. pr. reasons*;  
 moti, 1 *sing. pr. am disputing*; moteres, *mooters,*  
*disputants*; A. S. *motian*.  
 \*motild, *a babbler (contemptuously)*: from the  
 above, with the Icel. termination -aldi, which  
 has a deteriorative force. Rask's *Iceland. Gram.*  
 p. 152.  
 munnen, *to mention, recount*; munne, 1 *sing. pr.*;  
 munnest, 2 *sing. pr.*; munneð, 3 *pl. pr.*; A. S.  
*gemunan*.

## N.

nebschaft, *countenance*; A. S. *neb*.  
 nome-cuðe, *renowned*; sup. *nome-cuðest*; A. S.  
*nam-cuð, known by name*.  
 \*nowcin, *infirmity* (wið al ure *nowcin*); also, *an-*  
*noyance, hardship*; A. N. *noysance, nuisance*.  
 nuðe, *now*; A. S. *nu, þa*.

## O.

o, for *on, in*.  
 of-þunçinge, *repentance, grief*; A. S. *of-þincan.*  
*to bear with difficulty*.  
 oht (*var. read. god*) *treasure, possessions*; same as  
*ahte*.  
 olhtnunge (*var. read. olhnung*), *flattery*; A. S.  
*olacran, where see Bosworth*.  
 on, 1 *sing. pr. own (for an)*; A. S. *unnan, to grant*.  
 onde (*var. read. onden*), *dat. envy*; A. S. *onda*.  
 \*onont, *concerning*: onont þat, *inasmuch as*. It  
 still lives in *anent*, but the derivation is uncer-  
 tain. See Richardson.  
 orcost, *wealth*; A. S. *ore, the coin so called, or hord,*  
*treasure*; cyst, *chest*.  
 ow, *nom. you*; also, *dat. to you*; ower, *your*; owre,  
*dat.*; A. S. *ge, eow, eower*.

## P.

\*passiun, *suffering*; A. N.  
 pel (*var. read. pal*), *a pallium (the cloak so called)*;  
 A. S. *pæl*.

pine, *pain*; pinfule, *tormenting*; also, pineð, 3 *sing. pr. torments*; A. S. pin, *pain*; pinan, *to torture*.

plahen (*var. read. plohen*) *games, amusements*; A. S. plega.

pleiende, *pr. p. playing*; A. S. plegan, *to play, sport*.

\*preones, *prongs*; Icel. prion, *a needle*.

\*puisun, *potion*; A. N.

## R.

raketeheh, *chains*; A. S. racenteag, *a chain*.

rað, reað (*var. read. read*), *advice*; also, read; A. S. ræd, Icel. ráð.

raðe, *speedily*; A. S. hræd, *quick*.

ream, *weeping*; *pl. reames, lamentations*; remen, *to lament*; A. S. hreām, *clamour, wailing*.

refschipe, *government*; A. S. gerefscipe.

\*reisun; A. N. zelden reisu, *to show cause, to answer*.

reocheren, *oxen*; A. S. hriðer.

rixlen, 3 *pl. pr. rule*; rixlinge, *dat. reign*; A. S. rixian, *to reign*; rixlingen occurs frequently in Layamon.

ronnes, *whisperings*; A. S. runien, Old Engl. rounne.

run, *mystery*; runes, *communings*; A. S. rún, *a magical character*; also, *a council*.

rune, *dat. roaring* (wið swuche *rune*); A. S. ryn.

\*ruten, *to hurt*; Icel. rota, *to strike*; \*rut, *to project*; Halliwell.

## S.

sahen, *sayings, words*; A. S. sagu.

schaft, schafte (*var. read. schaftes, schat*) *creature*; scheop, schop, 3 *sing. p. shaped, created*; A. S. scyppan.

schead, *power of distinguishing*; A. S. sceádan, *to divide*.

schendlac, *disgrace*; A. S. seconde, with term. -lác.

schrencten, 3 *sing. p. supplanted*; A. S. screncean.

selðe, *joy, happiness*; A. S. sælð, *prosperity*; selthe occurs in Havelok, v. 1333.

seli (martirdom), *holy, blessed*; A. S. sælig.

\*seli (meiden), *simple, foolish*. See Richardson, under *silly*.

seoðen, *next*; A. S.

sihen, *to proceed*; A. S. sígan. See Gloss. to Layamon, under *siȝen*.

\*siker, *safe, secure*; Dan. sikker.

slakie, 1 *sing. pr. subj. may fail*; A. S. sleacian, *to wax dull*; slake, *slack*.

\*slec, *mud* (sloh ant *slec*); Germ. schlick.

sloh, *slough*; A. S. slog.

smirles, *ointment*; A. S. smyrrels.

some (*var. read. somed*), *some, together*; somen (*var. read. somet*), *with one accord*; A. S. sámmod.

sonde, *a messenger*; also, soutes-mon; A. S. sandesman.

\*sputi, *to dispute*; A. N.

\*stalewurðe, *stedfast*. See Jamieson, under *stalwart*. starelliche, *mightily*; *strength*; A. S. steardlice.

steape, *piercing* (said of the eyes); steapre, *more brilliant*.

steoren (*var. read. storen*), *to direct, steer*; 3 *sing. p. steerde*; A. S. styran.

steuene (*var. read. stefne*), *acc. voice*; A. S. stefen.

\*steuenteð, 2 *pl. pr. stand*. Mr Morton would connect this word with *stunt*.

\*stew, *imper. check thou*; stew þe, *cease*. In Layamon, v. 6267, the earlier MS. has, 'to steowien his folke,' while the other reads 'his folk for to stewe.' The Editor thence infers that *stew* was the same as the Gothic *stojan*, *to judge*, of which (we may add) the corresponding noun is *staua*. (See Notes, III. 471). Now as the Gothic *staua* is closely akin to *standan*, we are justified in connecting the word *stew* in this Legend with the same parent form. *Stew* may thus be *to stop, to cause to stand*.

stihen, *to mount*; stihende (*var. read. sihinde*), *proceeding* (cf. sihen); A. S. stigan.

storliche, *mortally*; storuene, *pl. dead*; A. S. steorfan, *to die*.

stralite, 3 *sing. p. stretched*; A. S. streccan.

strikeð, 3 *sing. pr. proceeds, issues* (said of a stream); strikunde, *pr. p. streaming* (said of a crowd);

(?) A. S. strican. The cognate Swed. *stryka*, and Germ. *streichen*, convey the idea of *speed*.

stucches, stucchen (*var. read. stucchenes*), *pieces, fragments*; A. S. stice; Low Germ. stukk.

stude, stede, stute, *place, spot, stead*; A. S. styde, *studu*.

sturien, *to move, stir*; sturie, 3 *sing. pr.*; stured, 3 *sing. p.*; A. S. styran.

stute (þu) *imper. stop thou*; cf. *stew* and *stude*.

sutel *adj. manifest*; sutelliche, *manifestly*; sutelede, 3 *sing. p. made manifest*; A. S. swytol, swytelian.

\*swerf, 3 *sing. p. migrated, or, ascended*. See Halliwell, under *sworf* and *swarce*, and Richardson, under *swerve*.

swecnte, *a deep sleep*. See notes on Layamon, III. 493.

swete-wil (*var. read. hatewil*), (?) *sweet-willow, a species of myrtle*; or simply, *sweet enjoyment*.

swenen, *a dream*; A. S. swefen.

swike, 3 *sing. pr. subj. may leave off*; A. S. swican.

swipten (*var. read. spiteden*) 3 *pl. p. struck*; 3 *sing. p. swipte*; A. S. swip, *whip*. Cf. Engl. *swoop*.

swire, *neck*; A. S. swura.

swiðe, *very*; swiðre, *more*; swiðest, *most quickly*; A. S. swiðe.

## T.

ta, tah, tat, ter, te, ti, tu, tus, for þa, þah, þat, þer, þe, þi, þu, þus.

talien (*var. read. tauelin*) to discourse, (to dispute);  
talien (take ut of his tunge)? boasting; talede  
3 *sing. p. discoursed*; talde (him), accounted  
(himself); A.S. to recount, reckon. Bi-telen oc-  
curs in Layamon, with the signification to con-  
test. See the notes, m. 502.

tauelin, to play (as at tables); to tauelin a dint, to  
deal forth a blow, or an objection; taucli, imper.  
let him match himself; A.S. taflan.

tene (*var. read. teone*), anger, trouble; also, teone;  
teneð, it grieves; A.S. teōna, injury; teonan,  
to anger; cf. Layamon, m. 440.

teo (*var. read. teon*), to pull; A.S. teōn.

te-schrapet, 3 *sing. p. scraped, shared*; A.S. screo-  
pan; the prefix to involving the idea of degra-  
dation.

timluker: þe timluker, immediately, the sooner;  
A.S. timliche.

tintrehe, tintreohē, tintrohe, torment; pl. tintro-  
hen; A.S. tintreg.

to-dreaued, to-driuen, pp. dispersed; A.S. to-  
dræfan.

to-hwiðeren, 3 *pl. subj. may break* (in pieces). In  
another passage the pp. of this word is equiva-  
lent to broken ('to-hwiðereð wið þe hwoles').  
In the Lincolnshire Dial. a *whitherer* is a 'strong  
person,' (Halliwell). Cf. A.S. hwoðcran, Old  
Germ. wüthern.

to-luken: see *luken*.

to-luteð, 3 *pl. pr. bow to*; A.S. lutan, to bow, lout.  
\*tom, empty; Icel. tomr, empty. See Halliwell,  
under *tome* and *toom*.

trukie[n], to fail; also, to be devoid of; although  
by adopting the various readings him, instead of  
he, the first signification will hold good. A.S.  
trucian.

tuhen, 3 *pl. p. pulled* (*var. read. drohen*); A.S.  
tugon, from teōn.

tukeð, 3 *sing. pr.*: tukeð ure godes to balewe,  
twitches our gods to contempt, treats them with  
derision; A.S. twican.

## p.

þa, when; þen (*var. read. hwen*), when; A.S.

þa, þah, though, notwithstanding; A.S. þeah.

þarf (*var. read. þerf*) 2 *sing. pr. needst* (for þearf);  
A.S. þearfan.

þeotinde, *pr. p. howling*; A.S. þeotan.

þoa, acc. *pl. those*; for A.S. þā.

þole, imper. have thou patience; þolede, 3 *sing. p.*  
*suffered*; þolie, 3 *sing. pr. subj. suffer*; þolien,  
to suffer; A.S.

þolemod, long-suffering; A.S.

þonki, 1 *sing. pr. thank*; A.S. þancian.

þreap, imper. insist thou (upon it, þrafter); þreap-  
peð, 3 *sing. pr. disputes*; A.S. þreapian. See  
Halliwell, under *threap*.

þrittuðe, thirteenth; yet in 'fið ant þrittuðe ȝer,'  
the same word signifies thirtieth; A.S. þritti-  
goða, thirtieth; þrittoða, thirteenth.

þrowede, þrowde, 3 *sing. p. suffered*; þrowin, to  
suffer.

þulli, such; also, þullich; A.S. þyllice.

þurh (*var. read. þruh*), coffin; A.S. þruh.

þurhwunest, 2 *sing. pr. ever livest*; A.S. þurh-  
wunian.

þurs, demon; A.S. þýrs. See notes on Layamon,  
v. 1140.

## U.

\*uirgines; A.N.

ules (*var. read. flesch*).

\*uleð, 3 *sing. pr. flatters*; Dutch, vlegē.

umbe, after; A.S. ymbē.

Under, i. e. Undern, the hour of Nones, or third hour.

underfeng, 3 *sing. p. assumed*; underfes (*var. read.*  
underuest), 2 *sing. pr. admitted*; underfon, pp.  
received; A.S. underfōn.

undernam (*var. read. underfeng*) 3 *sing. p. acquired,*  
*understood*; to underneome (*var. read. to under-*  
*neome*), to oppose in argument; þu under-  
neome, 2 *sing. p. thou hast undertaken*; to under-  
nimen(?) to mislead by argument; undernu-  
men, pp. undertaken; A.S. under-niman.

underve (*var. read. undervo*) frail, sensitive (said  
of human nature); cf. *derf*.

undutte, 3 *sing. p. unstopped* (us), i. e. opened our  
hearts; A.S. dyttan, to close up. Cf. Halliwell,  
under *dit*.

unforgult, harmless; A.S. forgyltan, to become guilty.

\*unhendeliche, rudely, uncourtously; Old Engl.  
hendelich, politely, gently.

unimet, immensurably; A.S. un-gemat.

unleffliche, incredible; cf. leafulle.

unneomliche, incomprehensible; A.S. niman.

unneð (*var. read. unnen*) 2 *pl. pr. do not grudge*  
(me blisse); A.S. unnan, to grant.

unseli, wicked, unblest; cf. *seli*.

untidi, unseasonable; A.S. un-tidlic, Germ. un-  
zeitig.

unwine, adversary; unwines occurs in Layamon;  
A.S. wine, a friend. Cf. *wiðruwines*.

unwreah, 3 *sing. p. opened*; A.S. un-wrean.

unwreaste, *pl. worthless, impotent*; A.S. un-wrest.  
unþrowlich, impossible (said of the Divine nature);

A.S. þrowin, to suffer.

## W.

wake, water; A.S. wæg, a wave; Old Germ. wag,  
wac.

walde, 3 *sing. p. would* (after), i. e. resolved to pur-  
sue; A.S. willan.

wanunge (*var. read. wonunge*), acc. diminution,  
waning; A.S. waning, wonung.

ward (*var. read. warð*) 3 *sing. p. became*; also,  
warð; A.S. weorðan; cf. iwarfen, iwurðen.

warpen, *to drive out*; warpe, 3 *sing. subj. may throw out*; wurpen, 3 *pl. p. renounced*; A. S. weorpan, *to cast*.  
 wat, 3 *sing. pr. knows*; wite[n] *to know*; also, 1 *pl. pr.*; A. S. witan.  
 \*wat, 3 *sing. p. wafled* (awai), *fied*; cf. Germ. wehen, *to blow*. 'þe wind wæht þæt fur.' Layamon, v. 16217.  
 wealde, 3 *sing. p. ruled*; A. S. wealdan.  
 \*weane, *grief, suffering*; Icel. veina, *qveina, lamentation, whining*; cf. A. S. wean.  
 \*wearne (*var. read. wernin*), *to forbid, deny*. See several examples of this usage in Layamon; Gloss. under wernen; Icel. varna, *prohibere*.  
 werie (*var. read. werien*), *to defend*; A. S. warian, *to protect*, cognate to the above.  
 weden, *to become mad* (wod); wedinde, *pr. p.*; wodeliche, *furiously*; A. S. wedan.  
 welc, 3 *sing. p. went about*; A. S. wealcen.  
 wende, 3 *sing. p. turned, went*; wenden, *to bend, turn*; A. S. wendan.  
 weol, 3 *sing. p. boiled*; A. S. weallan.  
 \*weorre (*var. read. wreððe*) *war*; weorren, *to fight*; Fr. guerre.  
 weoued, *altar*; A. S. weofod.  
 wepmcn, *men*, i. e. *mules*; A. S. wæp-man.  
 westum (*var. read. wastun*), *stature, form*; A. S. wastin.  
 wisse, *to wisse* = *for certain*; wisseð, 3 *sing. pr. directs*; wissinde, *pr. p. directing*; wiste (*hire*) 3 *sing. p. conducted herself*; wissunge, *acc. direction*; A. S. wissian, *to instruct, govern*.  
 witen *to witen hire meiden*, &c. 'to keep herself a virgin': akin to the above. See Glossary to Layamon, s. v.  
 \*witerliche, *verity*; cf. Dan. vitterlig, *knowingly, wittingly*.  
 wittes, *sciences*; A. S. ge-wit.  
 wiðerwines, *adversaries*; þe wiðerwine of helle, *the devil*; A. S.  
 wiðward (*var. read. wið*), *against, in a contrary direction*; A. S. wiðer-wearð.  
 wlite, *aspect, features, beauty*; wlitu, *beautiful*; A. S. wlite, wlitig.  
 wlenches, 2 *sing. p. prided* (thee); wlonke pom-pous; A. S. wlancau, *to grow proud*.  
 woh, *error, wrong, sin*; A. S.  
 \*wondreaðe, *difficulty, peril*; Icel. vandraedi.  
 wonicð, 3 *pl. pr. wane*; A. S. wanian.  
 wonteð (ham) *is wanting* (to them); Icel. vanta, *to be deficient*.  
 wrakeliche (*var. read. wrakefulliche*) *vengefully*; wreken, *to avenge himself*; A. S. wrecan, *to revenge, wreak*.

wraðe, *eagerly, quickly*; A. S.  
 wreodðeð, 2 *pt. pr. prop* (ow on), *rely upon*; A. S. wraðian.  
 wrenchen, *to draw by stratagem*; wrenchfule, *crafty*; A. S. wrench, *stratagem, guile*.  
 wune, *imper. abide thou*; 3 *sing. p. wunede*; 3 *sing. pr. wuneð*; wunien, *to dwell*; wununge, *dwelling-place*; A. S. wunian.  
 wunne, *nom. and acc. joy*; A. S. wyn.  
 wunnen, *dat. pl. winnings, fruits of labour*; A. S. winnan, *to labour, to win*. In Old Germ. wunne is *gain*. See the Glossary to Layamon.  
 wurcheð (*var. read. wurgitð*), 3 *pl. pr. worship*; iwurðchet (*var. read. iwurget*), *pp. worshipped*. These seem to be either corruptions of A. S. wurðigan, or the Danish værdige. Wurgin is in like manner a various reading for wurðschipen; which latter verb has no existence in A. S.  
 wurðfule, *honourable*; A. S.  
 wurðlice, *pl. worshipful, venerable*; A. S.  
 wurðme (*adj.*), *honoured*; wurðmund, *honour*; A. S. weorðmynd, but Dr Bosworth's derivation weorð, mynet, is very questionable.

## Y.

\*ymage; A. N.

## Z.

zarewe, *pl. ready*; zarow, *sing.*; A. S. gearo.  
 zarken, *to prepare*; A. S. gearcian.  
 zæld, 3 *sing. p. paid, gave in return*; zeld, 2 *sing. payedst*; zeld, 3 *sing. pr. gives, pays* (said of worship); zelde[n] *to repay*; zulde, 2 *sing. subj.* A. S. gylðan.  
 \*zeien, *to cry*; zeide, 3 *sing. p.*; zeinde, *pl. crying*.  
 \*zein-clappes, *counter-strokes*.  
 zeinen, *to profit*; A. S. gewinnan; Goth. geigan.  
 \*zein-turn, *way back*.  
 zelp, *boosting*; zelp, 1 *sing. pr. boast*; zelpcð, 3 *pl. pr.*; A. S. gilp, gilpan.  
 zeme: nim zeme, *take care*; common in early Engl.; A. S. gýman, *to take heed*.  
 zeomere, *acc. wretched*; A. S. geomer.  
 zeouen, *gifts*; A. S. geof.  
 zerne, 1 *sing. p. long for*; zeorne, *earnestly*; A. S. geornian, *to yearn*.  
 zette, *imper. grant thou*; zettede, 3 *sing. p. granted*; A. S. geatan.  
 zim-stanes, *precious stones*; A. S. gim-stan.  
 zonge, *dat. going, walking*; A. S.  
 zont, *through*; A. S. geond.  
 \*zuren, *to cry out*; zurende, *pl. screaming*.

## ERRATA.

p. 11, for to-ŷain, read to-ŷain.

p. 30 (line 5 from bottom), for blodles ikimet of ow seleuen, read blodles, ikimet of ow seluen.



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